ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY IN A CREOLE ECOLOGY: SAN ANDRÉS AND PROVIDENCIA

by

Héctor Ramírez-Cruz

B.A. in Philology and Languages, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2002

M.A. in Linguistics, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2007

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This dissertation was presented

by

Héctor Ramírez-Cruz

It was defended on

April 28, 2017

and approved by

Jerome Branche, Professor, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures

Matthew Kanwit, Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics

Scott Kiesling, Professor, Department of Linguistics

Dissertation Advisor: Shelome Gooden, Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

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SAN ANDRÉS AND PROVIDENCIA

Héctor Ramírez-Cruz, PhD
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This dissertation investigates the Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) of the English based Creoles spoken in San Andrés and Providencia. Given that Spanish has a growing presence in these islands, this context opens the question of whether the Creoles may be threatened. The dissertation provides empirical evidence for EV, enabling a better understanding of how the Creoles, as low status languages, survive in these contexts. The study included 259 participants distributed in different subsets. A cross-sectional design was used to investigate the EV in four dimensions of analysis: (1) Objective EV, (2) Subjective EV, (3) Underlying ideologies of EV, and (4) Linguistic evidence. Standardized scales were used to assess the objective EV based on census information and archival research. A qualitative interview, a series of discussion groups, and two perception tasks were used to investigate the subjective EV and underlying ideologies. A series of speech tasks were used to collect linguistic data.

Rather than a single outcome of EV, the results on the objective EV indicate a pattern of language maintenance in Providencia and a language-shift trend in San Andrés. On the subjective EV, the perceptions of vitality were consistent with the objective EV: higher in Providencia, lower in San Andrés, and negative among participants who are shifting to Spanish. On underlying ideologies, the analysis discloses ideologies of ethnic authenticity regarding Creole along with its stigmatization. It shows distinctive EV modalities per island and different representation of interethnic relationships. Those who are shifting show emotional disengagement from the ethnic group and the instrumentalization of the languages. Regarding the linguistic evidence of EV, there are differences of fluency, lexical knowledge, Spanish use, and fine-grained Creole features between fluent speakers and shifters. Among fluent speakers, there are some differences per age group, with young adults using distinctive Creole markers, such as *dem, deh, fi,* and *seh*, more frequently than older adults.

This is the first study to systematically assess the EV of Creoles in contact with dominant non-lexifier languages. It provides a comprehensive analysis of EV and adds empirical evidence to the burgeoning body of sociolinguistic studies of Creole languages in multilingual contexts.

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A mis padres, Silvia y Héctor,

a quienes todo debo. ¡Con amor!

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PREFACE

I would like to begin this preface by answering in non-technical terms the question "*What is this research about?*" This study is about the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Creoles spoken in the islands of San Andrés and Providencia.[1] In other words, I investigated to what extent these Creoles are vital. The term *vitality* relates to the capacity, ability, or posibility of continuing in existence and being distinguished from other ethnic groups and their languages. The compound term *ethnolinguistic* includes two important forms 'linguistic', which relates to the language, and 'ethno', which relates to the people or the ethnic group. In plain English, *ethnolinguistic vitality* is about the posibility of an ethnic group to continue in existence with regards to its language or, the other way around, the posibility of the language to continue in existence with regards to its speakers. I will provide a more technical definition later, but for now the important idea is that the ethnic group (Raizal) and its native language (Creole) are in close and mutual interdependence, only separated for analytical purposes.

The reader may easily see the challenge of the study: the vitality of a language is dependent on the ethnic group and, therefore, any attempt to separate them would likely be fruitless. Given that dependence, none but the ethnic group itself is more empowered to drive the course of their language, their culture, and their traditions. Because the ethnic group will always hold that power, any scientific study on ethnolinguistic vitality would have an indefinite margin of error. I acknowledge that margin or error, especially because I am not assuming languages as organisms, even though the term *vitality* may suggest that.[2] On the contrary, I am assuming that languages are, and treating them as social realities that are complex, contested, and layered with

[1] Creoles from different locales are considered different, unless otherwise shown by historical evidence. However, in most of the dissertation I will use the singular *Creole* or *Islander Creole* because Raizals from both islands considered it as one and unique language, and there is a shared sense of cultural congruency among them.

[2] I thank William Washabaugh for asking me this question about languages as organisms. Nevertheless, Mufwene's (2001b) view of language as species is not incompatible with them as social realities.

other complex realities. Certainly, studying ethnolinguistic vitality under these considerations is not an easy task, especially because it involves making predictions about these complex social realities. Karan (2011, p. 138), for example, compares this task with predicting the outcome of a sports match. Predicting the weather is also an illustrative comparison of this endeavor. Of course, anyone betting on horse races, baseball or soccer matches, or even predicting the weather, knows that there are chances of error. Science has provided us with tools to approach Ethnolinguistic Vitality seriously and better than bettors.

I am glad to take up the challenge of studying Ethnolinguistic Vitality, but I also acknowledge Creole speakers as undisputable owners of their language and the future stakeholders of their language. Therefore, this study is also a respectful approach to the Raizal ethnic group, their ideologies, perspectives, and opinions. In a word, this means my willingness to *being there* in the sense originally stated by Davis and Konner (2011) in the volume *Being There: Learning to Live Cross-Culturally*; that is, *being there* is a deep and meaningful learning experience that is beyond the outsider's curiosity. Both *respect* and *learning* are important values of the islander ethos as these are the minimum expectations they have from outsiders. I admire the Raizal society and there is a lot to learn from the people and their culture, which is rich of traditions, worldviews, and practices; this study is an attempt to deliver this learning experience in a respectful manner. This means that, regarding vitality, my participants' perspectives are relevant.

Islanders were my main source of information. The results of the study are grounded on what they expressed to me. I highlighted their perspectives, put them in the text, and give them voice throughout. My conclusions are drawn not only on theoretical grounds, on statistical, or on demographic information, but also on my participants' perspectives, and on the contrast between their perspectives and the theory. The respectful approach does not mean that I was not critical or that I lacked an objective viewpoint. Certainly, I was emotionally involved in the community and developed deep empathy with islanders, their thoughts, and their feelings; however, I also tried to be critical and displayed an *etic viewpoint* (distant and objective), besides the *emic viewpoint* (the participants' perspective) and a critical dialogue of these perspectives.

In the dissertation, the reader must notice that I intentionally avoided the use of the terms *basilect, mesolect,* and *acrolect*. The reason to avoid them is that these terms belong to *the postcreole continuum theory*, which, as originally proposed by DeCamp (1971, pp. 349-370),

assumed some sort of structural contiguity between Creole languages and the European languages (e.g. English) that were vocabulary donors (i.e. lexifiers). Among other possible outcomes, the theory stated that Creoles may 'evolve' via 'decreolization' toward their lexifiers, which were considered as 'normal'. By acquiring features of the lexifiers, the Creoles may supposedly undergo 'decreolization' and become 'less Creole' and more similar to the lexifier, until eventually merging with it.

As pointed out by DeGraff (2005, p. 557), there is a clear Darwinian approach to language in the postcreole continuum theory. The author criticizes that languages were assumed as organisms that evolve, while the European lexifiers posited as the natural endpoint of evolution for Creoles. Contrary to an underlying structural continuum, Winford (1993, pp. 9-11) has argued that there are no necessary contiguities and no underlying continuous grammar between Creoles and their lexifiers. For example, different words to convey the same or a similar idea (e.g *tears* vs *eye waata*) may vary in a 'sociolinguistic continuum' of styles and registers. In the same vein, Mufwene (2001b, p. 31) states that these discontiguities are better understood as variation or competition of different variants, given the different sources that contributed to Creole formation, for example the English *tears* and the African derived compound *eye waata*. Therefore, as stated by Mufwene (2001b, p. 75), Creole languages follow the same patterns of language change and language variation that any other contact language or language in contact does. In brief, there is no aprioristic, essentialist, or exceptional development or structure of a Creole that can be considered radically different from non-Creole languages (DeGraff, 2005, p. 541, 553).

Consequently, instead of *basilect*, *mesolect*, and *acrolect*, I will use the term *conservative Creole* to denote a variant that is more Creole specific (e.g. *eye waata* 'tears'*, seh 'say/that'*). I will use the term *less conservative* or *more English-like* to denote a variant that is more similar to English (e.g. *tears, dat* 'that'). Moreover, I will not use the terms *creolization* and *decreolization*. With this in mind, I am assuming that Creole speakers may show variation between a series of variants, speech styles, registers, and varieties that are part of the linguistic repertoire of their community, as it is the case in any other bilingual community.

When transcribing Creole speech excerpts for the analysis of these variants, I used the spelling conventions for Islander English from the Christian University Corporation (Ramírez-Dawkins, J. & Mitchell, D. (eds.), 2001). I also got the assistance from native consultants, who

helped me with the transcriptions. I followed Mitchell's advice (personal communication, July 28, 2016) on, for example, using a final *h* in certain words such as *deh* and *seh*, even though other researchers on other Caribbean Creoles may not use that letter. He explained to me that there is an offset glottal occlusion that makes these and other words characteristic of Creole and distinctive from other Creole words, such as the article *de/di* 'the'. In some cases, the Creole spelling conventions could not be used, for example when the speaker switched into English or used an English word or an English pronunciation. For example, the Creole word for *cake* is *kiek* but the speakers say *cake* at times and a single speaker may easily say *kiek* and *cake* in the same speech string. The same happened with many other words, such as *pus* vs *kyat* vs *cat, mada* vs *mother, riva* vs *river, sniek* vs *snake, brother* vs *broda* vs *brodar* vs *bredar* vs *breda* vs *beda,* and so on. Given that I stayed true to the recordings, the resulting transcription reflects the pronunciation and this intricate variation.

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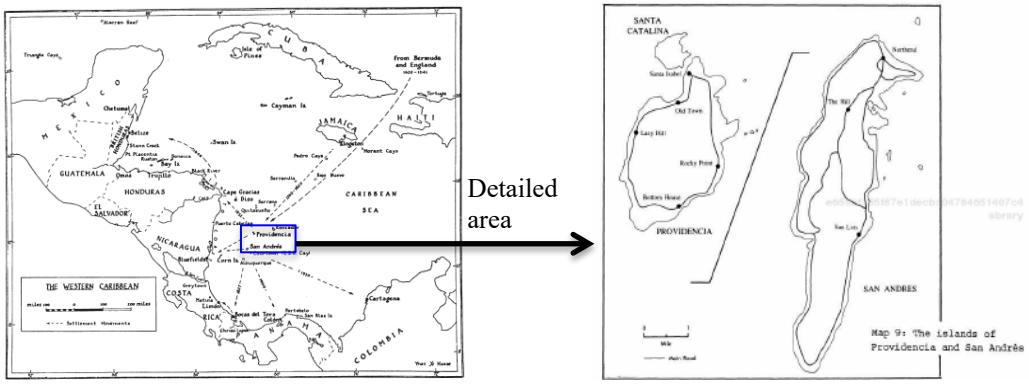
1.0 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation pursues the assessment of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality (henceforth EV) of the Creole spoken on the Islands of San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia (see map 1). The Islander Creole, sometimes called *bendé*, is an English-based creole classified as conservative in Winford's (1993, p. 4) list. It belongs to the chain of English-based creoles spoken in the Caribbean and it holds close historical ties to Jamaican Creole. As part of this chain, it has demanded the attention of researchers focused on the Caribbean, which Schneider (2012, pp. 478, 493) describes as rich of linguistic and cultural contact to an exceptional degree. Being a contact language located in a context of variable patterns of cultural and linguistic contact, the Islander Creole needs closer examination, as suggested by Schneider for the Caribbean.

Map 1. San Andrés and Providencia Islands, Colombia



Sources: Parsons, J. (1956, p. 0) [left map]; Washabaugh, W. (1982, p. 158) [right map] (Used with permission of the copyright holders: https://babel.hathitrust.org [left map], https://www.benjamins.com/#catalog/books/veaw.t2/main [right map])

1.1 ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY

The concept of EV was originally proposed by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977, pp. 308-309, 321-324) as a theoretical construct to account for the relationships between ethnic groups. The authors defined EV as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (1977, p. 308). Therefore, a language can be considered vital if its speakers use it actively and as a sign of ethnic distinctiveness from other ethnic groups. Although ethnicity was stated as embodied in the language, the studies of EV have relied mostly on the evaluation of demographic factors and socio-historical conditions, such as institutional support and group and language status. For language use, the authors proposed the assessment of EV based on accommodation practices between different speakers depending on the socio-historical conditions of their ethnic groups.

Both Accomodation and EV theories have had a significant impact on studies of language maintenance (Aikhenvald, 2002), language shift (Mora, Villa, & Dávila, 2005), language attrition (Clyne, 1992; De Bot and Clyne, 1994; Yagmur, 2009; Yagmur, De Bot, & Horzilius, 1999), and language death (Crystal, 2000). In spite of the growing body of research on EV, the EV theory has also invoked significant criticism. Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981, p. 147) revisited the theory and acknowledged that the assessment of the group members' perceptions of vitality –or subjective EV– is as important as the assessment of the objective EV and that a combination of both objective and subjective EV would be worthy. Recent revisions have criticized a heavy reliance on objective traits defined from the viewpoint of the dominant groups (Yagmur, 2011, p. 119), problems of reliability (Ehala, 2011, pp. 187-188) and operationalization of variables (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011, p. 122), and the need to give more relevance to the subjects' emic viewpoint (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011, p. 153).

Given the diversity of subjective perspectives, I will consider EV as a social construct that is not homogenously distributed across the social levels of an ethnic group. That is, distinctive significant experiences of language may lead to distinctive ideologies of language. This diversity of experiences and ideologies points to the challenge to undertake complex approaches that enable the integration of ethnographic and discourse analysis perspectives into the EV frame (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011, p. 152) (see a critical review of the EV theory in chapter 2).

Although Giles et al (1977, p. 317) proposed EV as a general theory to account for any ethnolinguistic groups in different vitality configurations, the investigation of EV in creole language communities is scarce. The theory has been applied mainly in cases of indigenous languages (John Edwards, 1992; Paulston, 1992; Aikhenvald, 2002) or in migration cases of speakers of non-endangered languages hosted in more hegemonically powerful societies, such as Turkish in Netherlands (Clyne, 1992; De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Yagmur, 2004; Yagmur et al., 1999), Spanish in the US (Mora et al., 2005), or French (Clément & Noels, 1992; Heller, 2003; Landry & Allard, 1992) and Italian (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984) in Canada.

Given that creole studies has been focused on larger issues of creole genesis, substrate, superstrate, and adstrate influences, and patterns of language change, the studies on creole EV appear to be fewer and newer. For instance, Migge and Léglise (2015) recently reported an assessment of the sociolinguistic situation of Creoles in Suriname and Guiana, including thoughtful discussions on language maintenance. The recent volume *In and out of Suriname: Language, mobility and Identity* edited by Carlin, Léglise, Migge, and Tjon Sie Fat (2014) contains extensive reports on Creole language identities and its relationship with major languages in contact (Carlin, Léglise, Migge, and Tjon Sie Fat, 2014, pp. 1-12) and on language convergence (Yakpo, van den Berg, & Borges, 2014, pp. 164-195), among other issues. In other Creole contexts, Eades and Siegel (1999) investigated attitudes towards Australian Creoles, while Romaine (1999), Grimes (1999), and Fiore, Gotay, Pagano, Roles, and Craven (2000) investigated attitudes toward Hawaiian Creole.

The question for EV of creole languages is relevant not only because their current relationships with other languages and ethnic groups need to be well understood, but also because research reports (Lipski, 2005, pp. 277-304; McWhorter, 2000; Lipski & Schwegler, 1993) suggest that some creole languages might have recently disappeared due to language contact conditions. Therefore, a sociolinguistic approach to EV on creole languages may contribute to a broader understanding of their contact situations.

It is commonplace for Caribbean English Creoles to coexist with their lexifier languages and this fact often calls into question the vitality of these Creoles. The situation, however, is more complex in Caribbean Creoles that coexist with non-lexifier languages, which have official or national statuses, such as Spanish in Bastimentos, Panama; Bluefields, Nicaragua; and San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia (Snow, 2000). Citing Aceto, Snow has called into question

the applicability of explanations based on hypothetical processes of 'decreolization' that assume a continuum between the Creole languages and their lexifiers (see Preface for a discussion and critique of the Post-Creole continuum). Instead, he suggests alternative models, such as diglossic situations, bilingualism, and language shift that may account better for linguistic variation in these contexts (Snow, 2000, pp. 341-342). Bartens (2002) widens the discussion and mentions other possible outcomes, such as the possible strenghtening of the Creoles given the absence of the lexifiers and highlights the importance of making comparisons across different communities. Bartens' note is particularly important to this study as she points out a pattern of language shift and the advance of Spanish among the young generations on San Andrés. In this study, I am going to expand and strengthen the analysis of EV in both San Andrés and Providencia. Namely, this is the first study to systematically assess the EV of Creoles in contact with dominant non-lexifier languages (i.e. Spanish in San Andrés and Providencia), which will enable a better understanding of how Creoles, as low status languages, survive in these contexts.

A comparison with language contact situations in other Creole societies also sheds light on the issues. For example, Schwegler (2012, p. 123) shows that the Spanish government from the eighteenth Century encouraged the isolation of the Palenque community and this might have contributed to the ethnic and linguistic homogeneity among speakers of Palenquero, a Spanish based Creole under Spanish ruling. This suggests that, beyond the coincidence or mismatch of the lexifier and the socially dominant language, it is important to contextualize the specific ecology of the contact. Although the Islander (a plantation Creole) and the Palenquero (a maroon Creole) situations are different, there are also similiraties in their relationship to the dominant society. For instance, both communities have been subjected to systematic attempts to isolate them from their geographical areas: with Jamaica and neighboring islands in San Andrés and Providencia (Shepherd, 2003, p. 33), and with adjacent locations in Palenque (Schwegler, 2012, p. 124). The Colombian government has historically neglected both communities, which have suffered linguistic discrimination. They have remained relatively isolated in their locales at least until the mid twentieth century and with the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution. These factors suggest that both communities may be seen as speech islands or "*islotes socioculturales"* -which is the Schwegler's term. Therefore, the relative isolation of San Andrés and Providencia is not only a matter of geographical condition. It can also be seen as a sociohistorical condition and as the style of governance to which minority groups have been subjected.

In order to properly contextualize this discussion, the Islander Creole EV must be framed in its own context (Crystal, 2000, p. 11), without ignoring the general picture of the human languages in a globalized world. This double frame is important to avoid both a fatalistic viewpoint focused on the ever-growing powerful languages (e.g. English, Spanish) and a buoyant viewpoint that takes for granted the relative isolation of linguistically insular enclaves.

To present a universal picture, the twentieth edition of Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2017) shows 6,681 languages with one or more speakers, excluding 199 languages of unknown population size and 219 languages listed with 0 speakers, as displayed in Table 1. Of these 6,681 living languages, 397 (5.94%) are on the top with one million speakers or more and 473 languages (7.07%) are on the bottom with less than 100 speakers. From a statistical point of view, these are clearly outliers. Therefore, any discussion of EV that includes these groups will end in the obvious conclusion that the top languages (e.g. English) are safe and the bottom ones (e.g. Aleut in the US) are dying, without any substantive account of the huge majority of 5,811 languages (87%) that are in the middle with 100 to 1,000,000 speakers.

Table 1. Languages of the world by number of first-language speakers

Population range	Living languages			Number of speakers		
	Count	*Percent*	*Cumulative*	*Total*	*Percent*	*Cumulative*
100,000,000 to 999,999,999	8	0.1	0.1%	2,709,546,730	40.78777	40.78777%
10,000,000 to 99,999,999	82	1.2	1.3%	2,609,446,190	39.28092	80.06869%
1,000,000 to 9,999,999	307	4.3	5.6%	948,917,508	14.28439	94.35088%
100,000 to 999,999	956	13.5	19.1%	305,209,791	4.59443	98.94751%
10,000 to 99,999	1,811	25.5	44.6%	61,803,881	0.93036	99.87787%
1,000 to 9,999	1,980	27.9	72.5%	7,630,091	0.11486	99.99272%
100 to 999	1,064	15.0	87.4%	470,472	0.00708	99.99981%
10 to 99	329	4.6	92.1%	12,268	0.00018	99.99999%
1 to 9	144	2.0	94.1%	584	0.00001	100.00000%
0	219	3.1	97.2%	0	0.00000	100.00000%
Unknown	199	2.8	100.0%			
Totals	7,099	100.0		6,643,037,515	100.000	

Source: (Simons & Fennig, 2017, www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size)

Demographically, these 5,811 are minority languages that gather only 5.65% of the world population, but it does not mean that they are in imminent danger of dying in the near future. The assessment of EV for each of these languages needs to be done on a case-by-case base, paying attention to their geographical locations, social context, cultural support, and their speakers'

ethnic identification. Although there is a considerable number of creoles registered on Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2017), including the Creole from San Andrés and Providencia, Crystal (2000, pp. 9-10) counted English creoles as English varieties and as evidence of new linguistic varieties. Therefore, the structural relationship of the Creoles with their lexifiers might be confounded with their EV; however, the relative youth of creole languages cannot be taken for granted without a careful and closer examination of the matter.

1.2 THE RAIZAL ETHNIC GROUP FROM SAN ANDRÉS AND PROVIDENCIA

Raizales or Raizal Islanders are an ethnic group whose history, collective memories, shared experiences, traditions, and native language ground the islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina. They are descendants from Europeans (most of them British) and African slaves (presumably from the Akan cluster) who were brought directly from Africa and from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands during the slave trade period (Dittmann, 2013, p. 285). Although they have close similarities and have had continuous interaction with other ethnic groups from the Caribbean, there are enough reasons to consider Raizal Islanders as a unique group and the geographical and historical isolation of the islands contributed to their uniqueness. Demographically, they can be considered a minority ethnic group, but they have managed to survive the outrage of slavery and further colonization processes and keep their native language alive. The task here is to find out to what extent the language is alive.

This section presents an overall description of the Raizal ethnic group with the aim of substantiating further discussions of the Islander Creole EV, which cannot be properly addressed if isolated from their speakers. There have been many descriptions of this ethnic group, so I do not intend to add just another one, but to provide a thoughtful discussion of how the historical circumstances have contributed to the formation of the language and its current sociolinguistic situation and how the cultural traits of the group may have contributed to make it distinctive. Firstly, I will present a historical background of the group in a sociolinguistic perspective. Secondly, I will discuss its Afro-Caribbean connections. Next, I will address the political activism of the group and, finally, I will describe some cultural practices and cultural productions of Creole speakers. Crucially, these factors provide an enriched understanding of the ethnic

group and give insights on their EV. More precisely, it is their degree of political activism, involvement in education initiatives, and participation in cultural activities that help to circumscribe their ethnic distinctiveness by tracing some African continuities, connections to the Caribbean and by (re)defining their own identities.

1.2.1 Historical background in a sociolinguistic perspective

Historically, the language contact situation in San Andrés and Providencia may be described as unstable, fluctuating, and unbalanced. The islands were presumably discovered by Christopher Columbus in the early 16th century, even though the first records appeared only in 1527 (Díez, 2014, pp. 8-9; Parsons, 1956, p. 4). Nevertheless, the islands remained unpopulated until the 17th century, with the exception of itinerant visits of Miskito indigenous people (Vollmer, 1997, pp. 26-27), in addition to pirates and smugglers, who occasionally stayed on the islands (Parsons, 1956, p. 5). Then, some British English speakers colonized the islands and established the first settlement of African slaves around 1630, even though the biggest surges of slaves were brought later from Jamaica, as pointed out by Washabaugh (1982, p. 157) and Bartens (2011, pp. 201-202). The islands were ceded to the Spanish Empire in 1786 and were taken by French pirates in the early 19th century; then, they were returned to the Spanish regime and adhered to Colombia in 1822. At the second half of the 20th century, after a long period of neglecting these territories, the Colombian government decided to increase its presence on the islands, build infrastructure, stimulate tourism activities and migration from the interior, and address specific political strategies to integrate the islands to the national Colombian life.

In order to account for language contact effects in Islander Creole through this history, it is important to analyze the type, duration, strength, and stability of social bilingualism. Thomason and Kaufman (1988, pp. 65-109) and Thomason (2001, pp. 70-71) offer a good model to account for bilingualism in contact cases of different nature and intensity.[3] Therefore, the bilingualism type and language contact setting of Islander Creole may be accounted in terms of

[3] The problem of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988, p. 10) model is that they consider creoles as cases of abnormal transmission as opposed to cases of normal genetic development. I will leave this controversial debate and consider creoles as *nativized languages* that may undergo variation and change, in similar ways to those of any language in contact.

their stability, duration, and strength during three phases that I named (1) intense contact, (2) interrupted contact, and (3) Spanish incursion, as depicted in Figure 1 and Table 2.

Figure 1. The ecology of the contact in San Andrés and Providencia

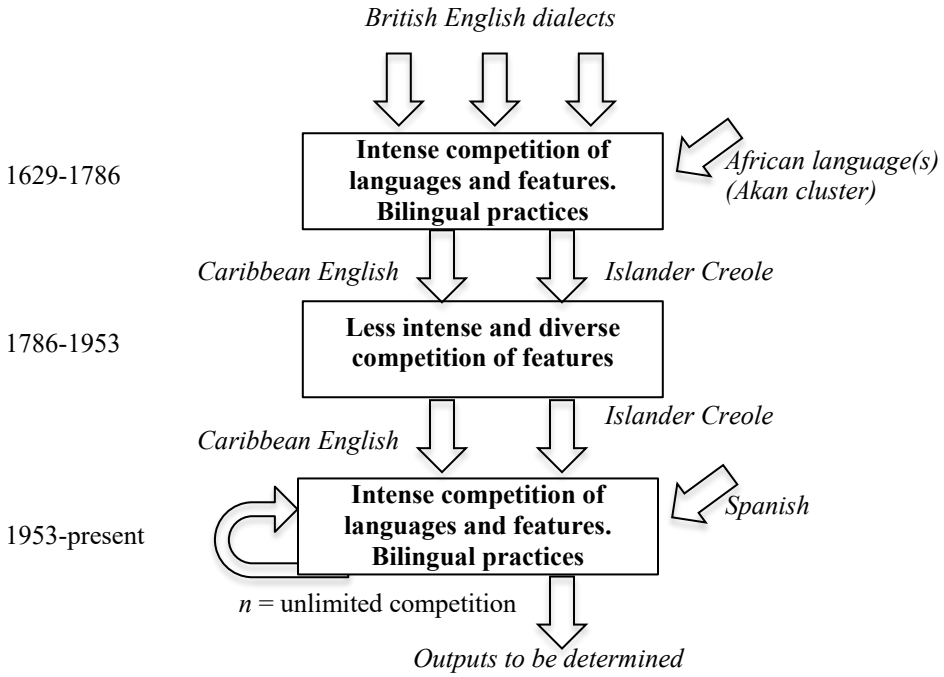


Table 2. Language contact in San Andrés and Providencia

	First phase *Intense contact* [1629-1786]	Second phase *Interrupted contact* [1786-1953]	Third phase *Spanish incursion* [1953-present]
Sociohistorical description	• British colonies • First African settlements • Surges of slaves from Jamaica	• Spanish possession • Expulsion of English settlers • Local development • Regional orientation	• Colombian presence • Urbanization • Industrialization (tourism) • Power differential
Sociolinguistic description	• English: dominant language • Pidgin emergence • Koineization with Jamaican Creole • Bilingual practices	• Creole stabilization: dominant language • English reduced to schools, churches, sectors and families • Local loyalties • Caribbean English model	• Spanish: dominant language • Creole: daily life • English: churches and lingua franca • Bilingual practices

Based on Mufwene (2001b, pp. 4-6), Figure 1 represents an alternative approach to language variation and language change that substantially differs from the *Postcreole Continuum*

Theory (DeCamp, 1971). As discussed in the Preface, this later theory submitted *decreolization* as an 'evolutionary' path from Creoles toward their lexifiers and assumed a structural contiguity between them. On the other hand, Mufwene's model acknowledges the different sources that contributed to the formation of a Creole language (for example, British English dialects and African languages from the Akan cluster in the upper part of the figure) but it is free of the theoretical biases of terms like 'structural contiguity', 'decreolization', and 'abnormal transmission'. On the contrary, Mufwene submits that there is an intense competition between languages and linguistic features from these sources (2001b, pp. 1-24). The outputs from this process are highly unpredictable and dependent on the context or the ecology of the contact. They may take the form of linguistic varieties (e.g. Islander Creole, Caribbean English), linguistic features competing for use (e.g. Africanisms, Anglicisms) in a given variety, or bilingual practices (e.g. code-switching).

Broadly, ecology may mean the specific context of the language (Mufwene, 2001b, pp. 21-24). Unlike *context*, the term *ecology* refers to the unique and irreplicable dynamic interactions between the geographical space, the linguistic varieties, and the ethnohistorical and sociocultural conditions that are particular for the speakers of those varieties. I summarize these conditions on table 2 and expanded their content in the next sections.

1.2.1.1 *First phase: intense contact*. By looking at Thomason and Kaufman (1988, pp. 74-75) and Thomason's (2001, pp. 70-91) borrowing scale, San Andrés and Providencia may be classified in the third category: more intense contact or moderately intense contact.[4] First, as shown in Table 2, a variety of English and the Creole language experienced an *intense contact phase* during a period of at least 150 years from 1629 -when English speakers colonized the islands and established the first settlements of African slaves (Vollmer, 1997, p. 30; Newton, 1985, pp. 52, 56)- to 1786 -when the Spanish Empire took possession of the islands and expelled the greatest part of English speakers. Once the British colony was established since 1629, English was the dominant language in the islands (Washabaugh, 1982, pp. 157-158), even though there were several subsequent disputes between the British and the Spanish regime for

[4] The divisions between the borrowing scale levels, however, are not clean lines as a language can belong to one or another level depending on the cluster of features analyzed (Clements, 1996, pp. 97-98).

the possession of the islands (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978, p. 172; Newton, 1985, p. 85). Social pressure from English and interactions between English speakers and slaves must have been enough for the restructuring of African language structure from the Akan cluster, moderate structural borrowing, and pidgin formation. Such processes must have included *koineization* with the Creole spoken by the biggest surges of slaves brought from Jamaica during this phase (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 29-30).

1.2.1.2 *Second phase: interrupted contact*. Subsequently, from 1786 to 1953, the islands experienced a second phase of *local development* and an *interrupted contact* with super-stratum languages. This phase started with the definite possession of the islands by the Spanish regime and the expulsion of the greatest extent of British settlers. As a consequence, the intensity of the contact with English and the social pressure from this language were significantly reduced. The contact with English decreased to a few English-speaking families allowed to remain in the islands (Vollmer, 1997, p. 51), educational settings (primary schools), specific geographic locations, and religious contexts. The Baptist, Adventist, and Catholic churches increased their incidence in the islands from 1845, 1905, and 1912, respectively (Castellar, 1976, pp. 6-7, 29). In all, Creole stabilized and strengthened its presence as the main language of the islands. According to Vollmer (1997, p. 52), the slave population (800 slaves) doubled the aliens (400 whites) in the early 19th century. Based on census data from Parsons (1956, p. 38), in 1951 the native population increased to 5,675 people, who were presumably Creole speakers.

Some important achievements of this phase were the official abolition of slavery in 1853, the access to basic education in Baptist schools, and the provision of the former slaves with small portions of land (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978, p. 173). These achievements must have strengthened ethnic solidarity among Creole speakers and, perhaps, moderated tension with the foreigners. Given the interactions with neighboring Caribbean islands, especially Jamaica, loyalties to the local language emerged not only as a function of the daily interaction but also as a way of mutual understanding with the neighbors. The transfer of the islands to the Colombian government in 1822 did not change the setting and Spanish only reached some effective presence in the islands in 1926, when the Spanish Capuchin Mission succeeded the English Mill Hill Mission (Castellar, 1976, p. 34). Probably, all these conditions were beneficial for the emergence of the Creole society and the use and maintenance of the Creole language.

1.2.1.3 *Third phase: the Spanish Language incursion*. Finally, the islands are experiencing a third phase of intense contact with Spanish from 1953 to the present. Changes in the political orientation of Colombia to the islands have led to a sudden implantation of Spanish as the dominant language. The expansion of Spanish was preceded by its dominance in the Catholic educational system from 1926, the prohibition of English in official domains in 1943, and a system of social rewards (e.g. jobs, scholarships) that were granted to those who were catholic and spoke Spanish (Vollmer, 1997, p. 63). However, the historical landmark of this phase is the declaration of San Andrés as a free port in 1953, which means the reduction of taxes for products entering the country through that port (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 4, 245, 283). Given the cheaper prices of the imported merchandise, the Free Port triggered the development of commerce on a large scale. It also favored a sudden development of the tourist industry, rapid urbanization and immigration from mainland Colombia, and the expansion of Spanish into more domains.

As I will show in chapter 4, the immigration of continental Colombians has been growing at least until the nineties for a variety of reasons. Initially, the Colombian government encouraged immigration with the purpose of integrating the islands to the national life. Further immigration in San Andrés continued, as the island has been seen as source of income, for example, in the commerce, tourist, and construction industries (Albuquerque & Stinner, 1978, p. 174). Furthermore, some participants' narratives suggest that the island has been used as refuge for criminals, drug traffickers, defaulting debtors, among others. As I will discuss in chapter 6, not only has this increased Spanish use but also favored negative attitudes toward the newcomers and the Spanish language. In fact, the sudden implantation of Spanish has created a power differential in which the local community has become segregrated. Unlike San Andrés, these effects have been moderated in Providencia given that this island was not covered by the free port status and, therefore, has not been affected by the immigration processes, the development of commerce, and the increase of the tourist industry on such a large scale.

In San Andrés, the new social stratification of the languages and their speakers has triggered territorial conflicts and a general feeling of mistrust (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978, p. 179). In the short time of 60 years, Spanish has been promoted from Catholic churches and established as the language of instruction in public schools in both San Andrés and Providencia, yielding little or no space to English or Creole. Thus, Spanish not only threatens Creole usage,

but it also has undermined the distribution of the languages and the sociolinguistic continuum[5] in which islanders operate. According to Thomason (2001, p. 22), these processes of urbanization and industrialization may promote unstable settings for the maintenance of minority languages, as suggested by the case of Hungarian in Oberwart, Austria (Gal, 1978) and predicted by Albuquerque and Stinner (1978, p. 173) for the islands. However, further evidence from Surinamese and Guianese creoles suggests that that is not always the case, given that such developments may help to intensify the social networks and favor multilingualism (Migge & Léglise, 2015, pp. 78, 81, 109).

Although this phase is characterized by the expansion of the Spanish language, the Decree 1142 (Presidencia de la República, 1978), a new Colombian Constitution (Consejo Superior de la Judicatura, 1991), the Law 47 (Congreso de la República, 1993), and the most recent Law 1381 (Congreso de la República, 2010), among other regulations (Robinson, 2013, pp. 19-21), introduced some changes in the orientation to the ethnic groups, their education, and their languages. By these, the ethnic groups have been recognized as part of a multicultural country, a co-official status has been granted to the ethnic languages in their locales, native teachers have been appointed, and some bilingual programs have been developed since the eighties (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 46-50).

Today, there are 50,330 inhabitants in San Andrés and Providencia (Dane, 2014). Of them, 19,100 (37.6%) are Raizal people and presumably Creole speakers; 14,844 (29.5%) are non-Raizals who were born in the islands but do not speak Creole –most of them speak Spanish as their first language (L1); and 16,386 (32.6%) are recent immigrants who were born out of the islands and are primarily Spanish L1 speakers. Thus, at least 62.4% of the current population of the islands is non-Creole speaker.

Spanish is currently the dominant language in the islands, the language of public life, education, and mass media, although this presence is less strong in Providencia (Abouchaar 2013, p. 46). Creole is the language of daily life, informal interactions, and recreation among the native islanders. English, on the other hand, functions as a lingua franca with foreign speakers and it is used mainly in Baptist churches, a few bilingual schools, and a few families. Moreover, multiple instances of code-switching, borrowing, and interference Spanish-Creole-English have

[5] Here, sociolinguistic continuum refers to a series of varieties that may vary according to the register or speech style, Winford (1993: 9-11).

been reported elsewhere by Abouchaar (2013, p. 46) and Jay Edwards (1970, pp. 223, 231, 246-260), as shown in examples (1a) and (1b), respectively.

(1) a. *Hi no gwain play for* ***gratis***
'He is not going to play for free'
b. Miy no got no ŝuwz miyde. ***Buska zapatow. No toka el peylo porkey akabar dey peynar***
'I don't have any shoes neither (sic). *Look (at) the shoes right there. Don't touch my hair because I just combed it*'.

1.2.2 Raizal and Islander as ethnic denominations

I provide an extensive discussion of ethnicity in chapter 2 and a discussion of participants' self-assessment of ethnicity in chapter 5. I will show that *Raizal* and/or *Islander* are the most common ethnic self-denominations used by the participants. Of them, *Islander* was more frequent in Providencia and it appeared to be the most traditional term to mean somebody who is originally from the islands. However, this term has also fallen into disuse given the growing number of newcomers, especially in San Andrés. The newcomer descendants who are born in the island have become 'islanders' by birth but do not share the same cultural background of islanders in the traditional sense. Therefore, the Spanish derived term *Raizal* (Raizal < Sp. *raíz* 'root' + *–al* 'an adjectival suffix indicating a relationship to the stem') has morphed into a more specific term to mean 'somebody who has his/her roots to the islands', so his/her ancestors are from the island. The solution is not straightforward and the terms are not completely equivalent, so some participants keep *Islander* and pointed out that *Raizal* could also be somebody who has his/her ancestors from the islands but is not necessarily born in the islands. Other participants combined these terms as *Raizal Islander* or *Islander Raizal* to mean 'an islander who is Raizal' or 'a Raizal who is born in the islands', most commonly to add emphasis or clarify. This suggests that ethnic self-denominations may be sensitive to the sociohistorical conditions and be contested spaces for ideological meaning of ethnic distinctiveness (Fought, 2006, p. 17). In daily speech, however, a single speaker may interchange these ethnic denominations in similar contexts, so I also used them alternately when referring to the group.

Following Hoffman and Walker (2010, p. 41), I assume that ethnicity is gradable and heterogenous rather than categorical and homogenous. As suggested in the previous paragraph,

the participants define –and sometimes grade- their ethnicity according to a variety of features that are not homogenous for all, for example *parental descendance, settlement patterns, place of birth, cultural heritage, language,* and *distinctiveness from other ethnic groups*, among other categories. Depending on the participants' perspectives, the ethnic group members may give more emphasis to one or some of these features (Fought, 2006, p. 13). For some of them, being descendent from both a Raizal father and a Raizal mother is what makes one Raizal, so they grade their ethnicity higher if this condition is met (e.g. "100% Raizal") but lower if not (e.g. "half and a half" –one of the parents is not Raizal). For others, this is not an essential condition and they gave more relevance to traditions or cultural practices. For most of them, speaking Creole is distinctive of Raizal ethnicity, but it may not be an exclusive or sufficient condition. This tells us that ethnic groups and the Raizal ethnic group in particular cannot be essentialized, for example, on the base of skin color or cultural practices.

On the contrary, it appears that the geographical space, the historical conditions of the group (see section 1.2.1), and the construction of collective memories have played a role on defining the Raizal ethnicity as a function of ethnic distinctiveness (Fought, 2006, pp. 16-21). That is, a territorial construction of identity around a particular place (the islands) that happens to be relatively isolated by geographical condition may have created a sense of community around daily practices and common features perceived as specific for the group and distinctive from the newcomers or outgroups. Furthermore, the sociohistorical circumstances that Raizals have faced since slavery practices, through liberation, and their survival battles on the modern world may have reinforced this sense of community around a common space that has been shared for centuries. In this sense, Raizal ethnicity can be understood as a dynamic cluster of variable features, such as islander ancestors (as shown by titles 'surnames'), Creole speech, place of birth (in the islands), and cultural practices. Depending on the perspective, a person could be a prototypical representation of the model when clustering all these features, or more or less peripheral when having some of them or having them at variable degrees. In chapter 5 and in section 6.1.2, I will show that this sense of ethnic distinctiveness (for example, from continental Colombians) is crucial to defining the ethnic group boundaries, regardless of the term, Raizal or Islander, or proximity to ethnic prototype (Fought, 2006, pp. 174-175).

1.2.3 Afro-Caribbean connections

The Raizal society has an imbricated legacy of both Europeans and Africans. The Anglo realm has been historically praised and is overestimated by some islanders, while the African factor diminishes, even though it may be essential for Raizal identity in San Andres and Providencia and for Afro-Caribbean identities in the Caribbean societies in general (Dittmann, 1992, p. 103). According to Dittmann (1992, pp. 90-91), the African slaves imported to Jamaica, which supplied most of the slave imports for San Andrés and Providencia, had a varied origin: nearly 25% would have come from Sierra Leone and Gambia, another 25% from the Gold Coast, and the remaining 50% from the Slave Coast, Congo, Angola, and Zambia.

Konadu (2010, pp. 6-9), however, states that people from the Akan cluster, those from the Gold Coast and neighboring areas, were culturally dominant both in Africa and in the British Caribbean. In Africa, Twi (an Akan language) was used as a lingua franca in the Gold Coast, extending its dominions beyond its eastern and western borders in the Slave and Ivory Coasts. The Akans' physical strength, their farming, verbal, and spiritual skills were appreciated by other African ethnic groups and acknowledged by the British slave traders, who competed against other regimes for slaves from the Gold and Slave Coasts. Indeed, large numbers of African slaves imported to Jamaica came from these ports. Although the average number of Akans imported in Jamaica was about 25%, there were certain time periods in which they reached higher percentages of up to 46% (Konadu, 2010, pp. 124-126, 148-149).

In the Caribbean, the Akans were also culturally dominant, given their skills, political leadership, and retention of traditions, which shaped the British Caribbean, and the Jamaican lifestyle in particular, as an Akanized society (Konadu, 2010, p. 25). Anansy stories are one of the outstanding traditions inherited by Caribbean societies from the Akan society, as the Akans also used to value wisdom (which is an attribute of *breda Anansy* 'spider') over physical strength (which is an attribute of *breda Tiger* and *breda Alligator*) (Konadu, 2010, pp. 122, 159). Musical traditions, the use of certain musical instruments (e.g. the horse jaw), some foods, the knowledge of therapeutic plants, and spiritual practices (e.g. *obeah* 'witchcraft') are also part of the Akan heritage in the Caribbean (Konadu, 2010, pp. 150, 161).

Some of these practices are also maintained to a variable extent by the Raizal communities in San Andrés and Providencia. Moreover, Jay Edwards (1974, pp. 5, 7-17),

Dittmann (1992, pp. 93, 98-103), and Bartens (2011) point out a series of African traces in the Creole language, including expressions, verbal markers (*wen/men/ben* 'past tense marker', *deh* 'progressive marker or demonstrative locative adverb'), words, and lexical compounds related to plants, animals, kinship and social titles, spiritual life, body, and boats. Besides these cultural and linguistic features, Wilson (1973, pp. 198-201) also found close similarities between Jamaica and Providencia, including the importance of land ownership as an indication of social status, the traditional domestic assignments for females and laboring roles for males, the overall tendency of youngsters to gather in crews for leisure, and an overall observance of marriage, church, and other European institutions as signs of 'respectability'.

Johnson (2003, pp. 37, 39, 42-43) goes beyond highlighting similarities and submits that the population from San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina is basically Jamaican or people of Jamaican descendent and Jamaican identity who speak Jamaican Creole. Being more cautious, Jay Edwards, Rosberg, and Pryme (1975, p. 306) state that Islander Creole partially derives from Jamaican Creole. Although the extent of the Jamaicanness of Raizal people and their language is something for further investigation, there have been certainly close ties between these islands, such as the early importation of slaves brought from Jamaica during the 18th century, the post-slavery continuous migration from both sides but especially from Jamaica to San Andrés and Providencia, military occupations and piracy from Jamaica (e.g. Henry Morgan), and the enduring smuggling, trafficking, and legal trade from at least the seventieth century to at least the early twentieth Century. The products that have been part of the trade vary from wood and timbers probably from pre-British times, slaves, cotton, and animals (e.g. mules, horses, cattle) during the slave-trade period, and coconut, grain, and labor forces during post-slavery times (Shepherd, 2003, pp. 27-31). The dynamicity of trade facilitated migration, human trafficking, and marriage ties, intensified the relationships between the islands, and may have contributed to a sense of cultural contiguity among the island populations.

Despite some cultural and linguistic similarities of Caribbean societies, Shepherd (2003, p. 33) states that their relationships have become weak as the former Empires and the latter Republics have isolated their dominions and strengthen their relationships with their respective mainland. Indeed, most of my participants struggled to tell me what might be some African heritage, but quickly pointed to religion and language when asked about British heritage. Although no mention of Jamaica surfaced, they found some connectivity with Colón and Bocas

del Toro, Panama and Bluefields and Corn Islands, Nicaragua and said, "*we are one nation divided by three different countries (i.e. Colombia, Panama, and Nicaragua).*"

On the other hand, while Anglo-European institutions are praised in the islands, the ideological transition to the Anglo-European standards and some erasure of African traces must not have been smooth, given the warrior spirit and political leadership of the ancestral Akans (Konadu, 2010, pp. 5, 13, 23, 148). Konadu states that the transition of Akans to Christianity is recent and with resistance and the information from San Andrés and Providencia shows a continuous prosecution of Africanisms at least until 1964, when the last *obeah* man 'witch doctor/healer' was expelled to Cartagena (Dittmann, 1992, p. 89). Given that *obeah* can be seen as a New World retention of African religions, its persecution indicates the stigmatization of the African heritage. Ultimately, a few participants stated that skin complexion, dressing, hairstyle, manners, and obeah might be some African heritage, but it seems that, beyond the Afro-Caribbean and British legacy, their identity is primarily "locally adaptive" (Wilson, 1973, p. 214).

1.2.4 Political activism

Political activism can be relevant for EV as it may promote leadership, social mobilization, and collective goals to ensure independence and ethnic-distinctiveness. Among Raizal people, the earliest antecedents of political activism may be the revolts of the former slaves who resisted the oppressive social structure and the different forms of ill-treatment from their masters. Livingston (2015, pp. 76-77) mentions three revolts that took place in the islands during the years of 1638, 1799, and 1841. The last one was particularly important, given that those who were still subject to their masters were demanding their freedom in light of some slaves freed earlier. The achievement of freedom along with the mediation of the Baptist church and the provision of small portions of land must have reinforced a sense of community around the land owned, the church, and the schooling tradition that came with their freedom.

Once in Republic times of Colombia, the aim of Raizal political activism has been autonomy and self-determination. One of the first manifestations of this quest for independence was the petition of autonomy from the Department of Bolívar, which was achieved through the Law 52 of 1912. Although San Andrés and Providencia got their independence from the

Department of Bolívar and reached the higher rank of *Intendencia*, Ross (2000, pp. 350-355) pointed out that no actual autonomy was achieved and that the social consequences of that move were worse than its benefits: a more aggressive colonization from the mainland, more religious missions, the expropriation of the English educational system, and the imposition of the Spanish language and Catholicism. Since then, land, education, religion, language, and Raizal culture in general have been the core themes of the islander resistance (Ross, 2000, pp. 355-357). Land has been crucial given two important landmarks: (1) the Esguerra-Barcenas treaty of 1928, which divided territorial domains between Nicaragua (holding the Misquito Coast and the Corn Islands) and Colombia (holding San Andrés, Providencia, Santa Catalina, and different cays of that group), and (2) the territorial displacement of Raizals in San Andrés since its declaration as a Free-port in 1953. The first one is interpreted by islanders as a breakup of their networks with people earlier considered a common nation (Forbes, 2009, pp. 125, 129). The second one is seen as a deception to expropriate their lands as nearly half of their original territory has been taken away due to the urbanization and immigration processes that have taken place during this period (Livingston 2015, p. 79).

The indignation that these facts have raised and the deepest aspirations to self-determination among Raizals have produced several attempts of independence appeals and the emergence of different socio-political movements. Ross (2000, pp. 355-356) mentions three important attempts of separation from Colombia and the constitution of an independent nation, such as *The Federal Republic of Old Providencia*: one addressed to the British Queen in 1965, a second one addressed to the United Nations in 1969, and the last one also addressed to the United Nations in 1972. Some of the political movements that have emerged as a result of these resistance processes are: The Club Archipiélago Unido 'United Archipiélago Club', the Islander Civic Movement, the Movimiento Autónoma Regional (MAR) 'Regional Autonomy Movement', the Sons of the Soil (SOS), (Ross, 2000, pp. 355-356), the Organización Raizal fuera del Archipiélago (ORFA) 'Raizal Organization out of the Archipielago', the Raizal Youth organization (R-Youth) (Torres, 2015, p. 72), and the Archipielago Movement for Ethnic Native Self Determination (AMEN-SD) (Livingston, 2015, p. 80). Some of these organizations are still active, such as SOS, ORFA, R-Youth, and AMEN-SD. Although these groups participate in different mobilization and political processes, most of them are non-profit organizations without direct control of the local government.

Nevertheless, the last Colombian Constitution from 1991 has recognized the ethnic groups and enabled some linguistic and ethnic rights. It also has raised the status of San Andrés and Providencia from *Intendencia* to Department, which gives the islands some administrative and economic independence and the right to elect their governors and political corporations. These changes along with some specific laws preventing further immigration from the mainland, prohibiting further constructions of tourist projects, and protecting the environment have calmed down the animosity. Some of the political movements are trying to take advantage of this participatory frame and maximize the possible benefits for the community, while other movements appear to maintain a more critical position. The seemly chaotic administrations of the Constitutional period of the nineties in San Andrés along with many episodes of public corruption seem to justify the most critical positions (Petersen, 2001, pp. 284-290). Some of my participants acknowledge some progress in the Colombian law, have a positive stance toward Colombia, and consider that some groups claiming independence, such as the AMEN-SD, are too radical, while other participants are sympathetic toward these groups and argue for the territorial autonomy and the political and economical independence of the Raizal people.

1.2.5 Cultural practices and cultural production

Cultural practices are defined here as distinctive activities of an ethnic group. They can be daily or frequent activities such as fishing or less frequent activities such as festivals. They do not have to be exclusive of the ethnic group and the defining features of those activities may match the features of cultural activities elsewhere. Thus, what is crucial is that the ethnic group identifies itself with such activities as they serve cohesive functions among the group members. Cultural production is understood as the creation of cultural products derived from cultural practices. They may include long-lasting products such as a painting or short-lived products such as a theatre show, while the means of production, diffusion, and preservation can vary. Thus, although the boundaries between cultural practices and products are artificial and blurring, cultural products are more concrete as they are perceived as reference points for the cultural practices of the group. This is not to say that culture can be reduced to cultural practices and products, but they are a straightforward indication of how active an ethnic group is around its distinguishing activities.

1.2.5.1 *Religion*. When it comes to cultural productivity and activism, religion is perhaps one of the most relevant dimensions among the Raizal Islanders. Religion has played a crucial role in the history of the islands. The first effective episodes of slave liberation came from Phillip Beekman Livingston, a descendant of a slave master family who decided to free their slaves and give them portions of land both in San Andrés in 1834 and in Providencia in 1838 (Ross, 2000, p. 349). These actions preceded the official end of slavery in Colombia in 1853 and pressed other slave masters to do the same (Dittmann, 2013, pp. 285-286). Then, Beekman became a pastor, networked with American and Jamaican churches, got religious credentials, started schooling the former slaves, and built the first Baptist Church in the islands in 1853 (Gobernación, n.d., pp.11-12). Except for recent Colombian government schools, church and education have been closely aligned, so it appears that each church, or at least each church denomination, has its own school (e.g. First Baptist School, Sagrada Familia School, Colegio Modelo Adventista). This alignment of education and Christian religions may have likely eased the ousting of African religions. Thus, church –and its closely aligned education- has historically become a sign of freedom, intellectual development, and social upgrading from slave to citizen (Wilson, 1973, p. 104).

However, it is hard to imagine that Beekman's actions were completely altruistic. Devonish (2007, pp. 40-51), showed that in the Caribbean the close alignment of education and religion were instrumental for the spread of Christianism, the acceptance of the *status quo*, and the ideological control over the now free workforces. For example, according to Jay Edwards (1970, p. 243), Beekman and his family used to lend money to islanders at 18 to 20% annual interest rate, which they later collected in coconuts and then received large revenues when exporting the coconuts to the US during the coconut boom. Thus, religion and education seemly served a safe transition from plantation societies based on slavery to (pre-)industrial societies, in which the ideological control of the workforces was important to increase and maintain productivity.

Nevertheless, Pastor Beekman is part of the important memories among the Raizal islanders and is deeply appreciated by them, while church continues being an important part of their daily or weekly life. Today, islanders are used to attending Sunday or Saturday services (depending on the church denomination) and, sometimes, other church activities: children, youth, women, men, professional meetings, choir rehearsal, and other kinds of meetings (Robinson, 1989, pp. 83-85). Although women appear to be more actively engaged in church activities

(Wilson, 1973, p. 102), one of the critical features that islanders themselves perceive as fundamental of their ethnic group is Christianity (Robinson, 1989, p. 73). In general, islanders appear to overlook that churches prosecuted former traditions of obeah and carnivals inherited from Africa and initially discouraged the use of Creole both in the Church and in daily life. The ideological association of Church and English –not Creole- as the language of church is a natural thinking among islanders today (Dittmann, 1992, p. 40, 2013, p. 311).

Notwithstanding such initial prosecution of African traditions and the Creole language, today a significant part of the written corpus available in Islander Creole corresponds to religious texts, such as all four Gospel versions and the whole, most recently published, New Testament, as it will be shown with more detail in Chapter 4. American institutions have been involved in these publication processes but the local churches and bible and language study groups have actively and substantially participated. Today, the crucial role that churches and pastors play for the reproduction of cultural activities is widely recognized (e.g. The emancipation Week). The same is true for the retention and transmission of traditional knowledge through, for example, bilingual and intercultural educational models in their schools (e.g. the First Baptist School is a reference point in this matter). In fact, one of the most effective ways for me to have approached the islander community was through their churches and schools.

1.2.5.2 *Education*. As described in the previous section, the beginning of formal education in the islands came quickly after the emancipation of the former slaves in 1834 and 1838 and was also part of evangelization undertakings (Petersen, 2001, p. 86). Since then, the early alignment of education and church has set up education as a fundamental value for Raizal people (Wilson, 1973, pp. 25, 104). Education became a cultural reward of freedom and the symbol of citizenship in a renewed society, under Christian principles. Education was also linked to English literacy and ideologically driven to the Anglo heritage, while the African legacy was ignored and, at times, stigmatized (Ross, 2000, p. 349). However, the tight association of the Baptist Church, Christian Education, and English was shaken when the Colombian government increased its actions of sovereignty on the islands and sent Catholic missions in the early twentieth Century for the education and integration of islanders into the national life. The first Catholic mission in 1912 did not disrupt the *status quo* as it was an English mission but a further Spanish Capuchin mission seemly inflected more harm beginning in 1926 (Ross 2000, p. 353). A free educational

system in government schools, a larger offer of secondary education, and other rewards such as college scholarships in Colombian mainland and local jobs for Catholics were instrumental for recruiting students, converting some islanders into Catholicism, and changing the reference society from an Anglo-oriented model to a Colombian-oriented model (Ross, 2000, p. 351). These facts, the imposition of Spanish as the official language, and the prohibition of English in schools and official institutions in 1943 undermined the education model of the Baptist church. Later on, the government schools became secular and, therefore, the public educational system stopped being formally linked to religion.

Besides this breakup of the historical ties of islander education, one of the biggest concerns has been the disconnection between the educational system and islander life (Forbes 2009: 126). As a response to these concerns, Decree 1142 from 1978 acknowledged the role of local cultures and native languages for the education of ethnic minorities, established bilingual education for these ethnic groups, and encouraged curricular development. Furthermore, a series of government funded bilingual programs were developed in the eighties with the participation of different institutions (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 46-50). Although islanders actively participated in these programs, they were targeting a Spanish-English bilingual model (Brown, 1999), while Creole was ignored. According to Dittmann (1992, pp. 48-49), some bureaucratic problems, the lack of clarity on the bilingual model, tiny resources, and an inappropriate training of teachers to teach English-based content-courses contributed to the failure of these projects. The low status of Creole for functions other than the in-group oral communication was a factor for the Creole language not being considered for educational goals. Overall, the ideological ties of education to English literacy and Anglo-cultures and the unawareness of the crucial role of the mother tongue for early education prevented the development of a locally oriented educational model.

In light of these flaws, some renewed efforts have been seeking islander education in their own terms since the nineties. Forbes (1999, p. 126) is one of the pioneers of trilingual education initiatives proposing an intercultural trilingual project that incorporated native knowledge, the students' vital experiences, and the Creole language. He proposed specific activities to be done in the L1 and in an L2 (either English or Spanish) across all levels of education, for instance, oral tradition in L1 and labeling and numbers in L2. He received approval for a six-year pilot study in the First Baptist School, which had a large majority of L1 Creole speakers. He found that students who were exposed early to Creole as a language of

instruction in first and second grades and received random instruction either in Creole, English, or Spanish since the third grade increased the use of Creole and achieved higher academic attainments than those who were not exposed to Creole as a language of instruction. His findings indicate that the incorporation of the mother tongue and the native knowledge in early grades favors students' performance (cf. DeGraff, 2017, on Haitian Creole).

Given the relevance of the mother tongue for the education of children, Abouchaar, Hooker, and Robinson (2002) proposed a series of curriculum guidelines for a Creole-Spanish bilingual education program in Providencia. The proposal is contributory in setting up specific goals for the development of communicative and linguistic skills in these languages, a specific curricular structure applied to different contents, and a series of psychosocial dimensions of learning. They also considered psycholinguistic processes, learning strategies, strategies to design teaching materials, and further research. For elementary school, the authors proposed the early inclusion of Creole as the primary language of instruction, while Spanish is gradually introduced until reaching maximum exposure in later grades. English is reserved for secondary school. In a further paper, Abouchaar (2013) continues stating Creole as the primary language of instruction in early grades, but proposes the delay of Spanish for secondary education and the inclusion of English since second grade as a possible way to revitalize the Creole language and a presumed Creole-English continuum.

Similarly, Morren (2001) describes local initiatives under the flag of the trilingual education project. The model proposed the early implementation of Creole as the primary language of instruction in pre-elementary school and the first grade of elementary school. Then, it proposed the progressive inclusion of English and Spanish throughout the rest of elementary education using oral means at the beginning and incorporating English and Spanish more explicitly in fourth and fifth grades. Through a Fulbright grant as an US-specialist, Morren assisted this project, developed some Creole writing workshops with islander teachers, and helped them to produce textbooks and booklets for the trilingual project. His assistance was very instrumental as islanders managed to produce an orthography, a Creole-English glossary, two booklets of stories for Creole literacy development in early grades, and a series of textbooks to teach Language, Natural and Social Sciences, and Math, most of them in Creole (more details on these materials will be provided in chapter 4). Although the model and books were ready to be

piloted in three different schools of San Andrés, the initiative was apparently blocked as the teachers developing the project were reappointed to different schools (Morren, 2001, p. 239).

Lastly, in the late nineties an important initiative to establish a local private university was carried out. With the economical support of the national government of Colombia, the British government, and American universities, foundations, and religious institutions, the Christian University Corporation of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina was established in San Andrés and started classes on February 2, 1998 (Petersen, 2001, p. 297). The initiative came from a local pastor who mobilized the support of the Raizal community through donations of land, construction materials, furniture, and work. Unfortunately, the sustainability of a private university was insufficiently envisioned as the student enrollment in the second year dropped to half of the initial enrollment and donations also declined (Petersen, 2001, p. 301). As the institution became economically unsustainable and the political opposition to the project increased, the institution closed just about ten years after its construction.

Other institutions that offer higher education in the islands are Instituto de Formación Técnica Profesional (INFOTEP), Universidad Nacional de Colombia (UNAL), and Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA). INFOTEP is a public local institution offering a few technical professional degrees both in San Andrés and, most recently, in Providencia. UNAL has built a small campus in San Andrés and currently offers graduate programs and a one-year initial training for college students who are later transferred to other campuses. Finally, SENA was established as a public education institution since the seventies in San Andrés (Bush, 1989, p. 172) and more recently in Providencia. This institution offers a varied set of free technical professional and non-professional programs of long and short duration, which are directly tied to the productive activities of the islands and the specific needs of its population (Enciso, 2004a, pp. 18-19). Given the large number of students enrolled and the contextual relevance of its programs, SENA has had a significant impact on the professionalization and laboring activities of islanders.

Overall, while the crucial role of Creole as a mother tongue has been acknowledged in recent education projects, it is mostly seen as a transitory language to English and Spanish. Thus, although education appears to have a high value in islander ideology and there is total coverage in elementary and secondary education (Enciso, 2004a, pp. 13-14), it is not clear to what extent education may contribute to the Creole EV. Some of my participants acknowledge that a Creole-

based education would be better and state that Creole is anyhow inadvertently used in the classroom, even by teachers. Other participants cannot imagine Creole being used for educational purposes and state Creole writing as non-sense. For them, English is the language to be implemented in the classroom while any effort to implement Creole is a waste of time and resources. SENA programs, which are not language-oriented but directly tied to productive activities of the islands, appear to make a clearer contribution to the retention and enhancement of traditional practices and, therefore, ethnic distinctiveness. This situation is not very different from other Caribbean societies, for example Haiti, where Haitian Creole is excluded from school, despite being a mother tongue for all and the favorable legislation for its use in schools (DeGraff, 2017).

1.2.5.3 *Storytelling*. Oral traditions are another point of reference of islander culture. These traditions include different forms of storytelling, such as Anansy stories, and other traditions such as ring plays, sayings, and riddles (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 43-44, 117-123). As noted earlier, Anansy stories belong to an oral tradition of ethnic groups from the Akan cluster, who brought them from Africa to the Caribbean during the slave trade period (Pochet, 2012, p. 190). According to Pochet (2008, pp. 73-74), these are oral narratives that often teach moral lessons related to daily life, common sense, wisdom, cleverness, prevision, friendship, and camaraderie, among other values. Anansy stories are not the only narrative genre among islanders; Dittmann (1992, p. 43) also points to duppy stories –stories about ghosts- while Wilson (1973, pp. 155-160) examines stories about pirates, hidden treasures, and personal stories. As Wilson pointed out, the key component of storytelling is the display of narrator's skills, such as performing the story, introducing some humour in the plot, inserting oneself in the story, exaggerating one's strength and skills, and even presenting oneself as the story hero. According to Wilson (1973, p. 158), this display of verbal skills is perceived as a crucial component of reputation and manhood given that men need to appear as articulate and knowledgeable.

Based on Dittmann (1992, p. 43), one of these verbal skills would be the ability to shift through different speech styles, so that the narrator may speak in a formal English style and shift to informal Creole styles when voicing the story characters. In the Anansy stories I collected, I got the impression of speech style shifting and a greater propensity to use Creole than in other oral interactions, such as conversations in which I was present either as an addressee or as a

hearer (a detailed linguistic analysis of these data will be presented in chapter 7). For most of the participants I also perceived a tendency to perform the story, so, for example, when mimicking some drumming, sometimes they hit a table repeatedly or made onomatopoeic sounds instead of just saying, "he played the drum." Contrary to Wilson's statement on manhood, I got these perceptions of verbal and performing skills from both males and females.

Nevertheless, one of the oldest participants of this research study believes that "Anansy stories are gone." He explained to me that traditionally children used to sit around a fire and listen to the wise elders telling stories during the nights. He also stated that that was a unique form of entertaining children, so the storytellers used to introduce innovations and exaggerate some story events and character' features to make children laugh, but today "they are just watching TV and playing with cellphones." Despite this participant's statement, I was able to collect Anansy stories from a considerable number of young participants. When I asked them where they learnt the stories, the answers were scattered: some of them said that they learnt them from their parents or grandparents, while others learnt them in the school, read them in books, or watched them on TV. Certainly, there is a portion of Anansy stories that have been transcribed by different researchers for analytical and illustrative purposes, while others have been printed in the form of pocket or children books as representative of islander literature, as I will show in chapter 4. These last facts might be relevant for EV given that printed literature and TV shows portraying Anansy stories might be instrumental for language retention and the reproduction of an islander tradition, even though at the expense of the traditional features that my older participant misses: orality, performance, and community cohesion.

1.2.5.4 *Music and performance*. Music is one of the most productive and perhaps the most emotionally charged cultural activity for Raizal Islanders. There is a broad variety of genres and styles and islanders are strong both in singing and in dancing. The islands have produced a number of music groups, singers, independent artists, and commercial albums that is significant taking into account the population size and the limitation of resources (the size of the corpus on musical production and other details are addressed in chapter 4). Overall, the musical production, genres, and styles indicate different European (e.g. Schottische, Mazurka, Polka), Afro-Caribbean (e.g. Mento, Calypso, Soca, Reggae), American (e.g. Country), and Colombian or Andean influences (e.g. Pasillo, Vallenato, Champeta) (Dittmann 2013, p. 288). For the

performance of these rhythms, there is also a variety of musical instruments and traditional and colorful dresses (Robinson, 1989, pp. 97-98).

Schottische, Mazurka, and Polka, as well as *Pasillo*, are perceived as ancient rhythms from colonial times (Petersen, 2001, pp. 157-158), only heard today on festivals (e.g. the Emancipation Week, the Independence Day) and school activities (e.g. Arts Class, the Race Day). Mento, Calypso, Soca and Reggae are also played in festivals and are very popular in carnivals, parties, and discos. *Vallenato* and *Champeta* are also popular in parties and discos and they are played at times in carnivals. Most of the islanders I talked to bitterly reject *Vallenato* and especially *Champeta*. They described *Champeta* as an ugly and obscene dance that is typical of *Cartageneros* and *Barranquilleros* from mainland Colombia. *Champetudo* is certainly an offensive term to describe people from the Colombian coast. Overall, *champetudo* not only conveys a person who dances *champeta*, it also conveys stereotypical meanings of being poor, untrusting, and wrongdoer (e.g. thieving, trouble making, killing, drug consumption). Despite these descriptors for the out-group, a few young islanders I interviewed acknowledge that they like *Champeta* and/or *Vallenato* because it is "*chévere, movido y sensual* (nice, dynamic, and sensual)".

On the other hand, some of the oldest islanders also dislike Mento, Calypso, Soca, and Reggae. They said that these are not authentic rhythms of the islands but the result of recent influences from Jamaica; instead, they praised the European rhythms (e.g. Schottische, Mazurka, Polka) as the prettiest and most traditional and authentic dances of the islands. In all, Afro-Caribbean rhythms appear to be more popular among the new generations given that their contents of self-determination, emancipation, peace, love, and religious metaphors are deemed catchier than traditional European rhythms, acknowledge the positive features of blackness and African heritage, and give some room for the vernacular language (Campbell, H., 2015, pp. 15, 20, 23-30; Cooper, 2015). The oldest generations, on the other hand, are more sympathetic of the traditional rhythms of European influence as they may resemblance earlier practices of their youth and are closely aligned to their ideals of the British heritage in the islands.

1.2.5.5 *Mass media*. Mass media are certainly no part of the islander traditions. However, the incursion of Islander Creole and Caribbean English in the media might be an indication of mobilization processes of the community to reach the public sphere. It may also indicate the

extent and the nature of some institutional support from the dominant culture. The first reference to any mass media in the islands is an English-Spanish bilingual newspaper called *The Searchlight* (Crawford, 2009, p. 12). This newspaper was founded by Francisco Newball in 1912 and used to publish different kind of articles written by islanders, including the average islander citizen. Although the newspaper had a short life of only two years, it was instrumental for making allegations about the public administration and to push the approval of Law 52, which raised the status of San Andrés and Providencia from national territories depending from the Department of Bolívar to an independent *Intendencia*. It is important to point out that Spanish and English, not Creole, were the declared languages of the newspaper.

For the rest of the 20th Century, Jay Edwards (1970, p. 246) lists two Spanish-English bilingual newspapers: *San Andrés Bilingüe* 'Bilingual San Andrés' functioning from 1962 through 1963 and *Isla de San Andrés* 'San Andrés Island' functioning since 1968. The author also lists three Spanish monolingual newspapers functioning since the sixties. The prohibition of English in the schools and the public sphere in 1943 must have diminished the attempts of English or Creole publications during the free-trade period. In 1992, Dittmann (1992, p. 39) states that, during her fieldwork in the eighties, there were no English press or books, with the exception of the Bible and a few TV and radio programs. Then, the constitutional changes of 1991 on linguistic and ethnic rights appear to have given some new space for English programming in the media and those programs were about islander culture and traditions. For example, Ross (2000, p. 365) mentions a one-hour weekly English program *Traditional Culture with Lolia*, which allowed participation of the audience through phone calls. This radio programming plus some English news and other cultural, music, and religion programming both in radio and in TV suggest an increase of the presence of English and Islander culture in the media. However, English, not Creole, was still the declared public language of islanders in the media.

More recently, Dittmann (2013, pp. 312-313) mentions explicitly some presence of the Creole language in radio and TV programs. She also explains that, given the high costs of production and transmission, the local radio and TV channels struggle to keep an extensive and substantive programming. Advertisers paid advertising through the most popular national radio stations, Spanish TV channels, and the most broadcasted programs, which are not the islander productions. Therefore, all islander production on the media depends on the government support.

Nevertheless, Dittmann (2013, p. 313) points out that the islander ideal is to reach at least a 50% distribution of English and Creole programming with respect to the Spanish programming; therefore, it is not clear precisely what percentage Creole would occupy in the mass media. By taking a look of the bilingual local newspaper *El Isleño,* 97th edition from June 2016, all news is both in Spanish and in a formal standard English variety, except for all advertisements, the Editorial, and some letters addressed to the journal, which are all written in Spanish, sometimes with a few small Creole excerpts integrated in the text. My participants, however, informed me about the existence of a few programs produced in Creole, such as some Anansy stories and *Betsy,* a character portrayed as the gossiping girl of the islands.

Altogether, the moderate presence of islander productions in the mass media indicates some important achievements for the community in the public sphere, even though the presence of the Creole language is scarce. Therefore, it is unclear whether or not and to what extent those achievements may contribute to the EV of the Creole language. Certainly, most of the islander written publications I found about the island, either on the history, traditions, culture, or political essays are either English monolingual editions or Spanish-English bilingual editions. This suggests an ideological stance that targets English and not Creole as the written language, while accommodating Spanish as the official-state language.

1.2.5.6 *Cuisine*. Cuisine is one of the most pervasive cultural practices of the raizal islanders. It appears that there is a strong Caribbean vein in the dishes and flavors, especially in those involving seafood (e.g. stew old wife). There are also a significant variety of dishes including main courses (e.g. pig tale, *rondón*[6] –a type of stew, crab soup), side dishes (e.g. bread fruit, fritters), snacks (e.g. plantain tarts, ponds), and spices and dressings (e.g. peppers, coconut milk) (Gobernación, n/d, p. 18). Although I have had the opportunity to try some of these dishes, group members told me that I have seen nothing in comparison with what they used to have and they regretted that there is so much influence from mainland Colombia in the ingredients (e.g. vegetable oil instead of coconut oil), ways of cooking (e.g. a kitchen inside the house instead of a fire or an independent room out of the house), and meal preferences (e.g. too much chicken). It

[6] A native consultant explained to me that *rondón* probably comes from *run down* as a metaphorical description of boiling the food until the water *goes down* in the pot. The term has been Hispaniced as *rondón* both in the writing and in the pronunciation.

seems that modern life and urbanization has played a role in shifting from traditional cuisine practices to faster and more practical choices, so that buying vegetable oil and cookies might be preferred to the physical demands of hand making coconut oil and fritters. Similarly, crab hunting is currently subject to regulations and fish is getting scarce and expensive, so chicken has become an option (Petersen, 2001, pp. 177-180). Overall, it seems that traditional dishes are now more expensive and have been reserved to special occasions such as parties (e.g. weddings, birthdays, Christmas, New Year's Eve[7]) or for visitors. My islander host family and other islanders who invited me to join them at times were pleased to see that I enjoyed their meals and wasted nothing from my plate.

1.2.5.7 *Other forms of cultural production and cultural practices*. There are a number of other forms of cultural production and cultural practices that I did not mention in extent due to space constraints or because they are reproductions or combinations of other forms already mentioned. Festivals and carnivals are key references of islander activities and they include different forms of cultural production such as music, dance, drama, and cuisine. Among the most important celebrations, there are The Emancipation Week, The Green Moon Festival, and The Providence Folk, Cultural, and Sports Festival, as well as Colombian national holidays such as the Independence Day, Boyaca Battle, and the Race Day.[8] Funerals, wedding, baptisms and parties are also part of the cultural repertoire of activities. Other activities and forms of cultural production include sports (especially softball), horse and boat races (Petersen, 2001, pp. 157-168; Wilson, 1973, pp. 25-27), house construction (traditional wooden houses are representative of the Raizal culture), and some paintings (Robinson, 1989, p. 91; Bush, 1989, pp. 131-133).

[7] I attended two birthday parties, one wedding, and one welcoming party and was able to observe some cultural practices.

[8] I attended several cultural activities and observed different cultural practices first hand. These included Emancipation Week, Boyacá Battle, Afrocolombians Day, Providence Folk, Cultural, and Sports Festival and Independence Day.

1.3 DISSERTATION OUTLINE

The dissertation is organized as follows. The present chapter has made an introduction to EV, the Raizal ethnic group, and an overview of several sociocultural factors that help to define their ethnic identities. The second chapter provides a critical review of the literature on EV, including the core concepts of the dissertation and previous research both in the islands and in other Creole contexts. The third chapter presents the methods implemented both in a pilot study and in the main study. Next, chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 present the dissertaion results in each of the four analytical dimensions of the study. Chapter 4 presents the results on the objective EV using two standardized scales: the endangerment level scale and the documentation need scale. Chapter 5 presents the results on the subjective EV in four parts: ethnic identification and social networks, family, language, and linguistic rights and social discrimination. Chapter 6 presents the results on the ideologies of EV, both on language ideologies and on the ideological perceptions of language. Chapter 7 presents the results on the linguistic evidence in two parts: (a) language loss and language attrition and (b) language maintenance and Creole features retention. Finally, the overall conclusion and discussion of the findings are presented in chapter 8, in which I revisit the research questions, discuss the significance and contributions of the study, acknowledge its limitations, and provide some future research directions.

2.0 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The previous chapter gave us an overview of the meaning of EV and a discussion of several sociocultural and sociopolitical factors affecting the Raizal ethnic group. These provide an important background and understanding of how the group's involvement may contribute to their ethnic distinctiveness or EV. However, we need to understand theoretically how the ethnicity of an ethnic group may be threatened in interethnic relationships and result in a given outcome of language vitality. Furthermore, a thoughtful consideration of EV is needed. Karan (2011, p. 138), for example, states that evaluating EV is an inherently difficult task, which he compared to predict the outcome of a sports match or forecasting the weather. In order to understand the challenges of studying EV, we need to understand what the advantages and the challenges of the EV theory are and what are some possible avenues of improvement. Finally, we also need to understand specifically what is the scope of the issues when addressing EV in Creole language contexts. With this in mind, this chapter provides a theoretical discussion organized in four sections, which also take previous research into account: (1) Ethnicity, language contact, and vitality outcomes, (2) a critical review of the EV theory, (3) EV in creole language contexts, and (4) the Research questions of this dissertation.

2.1 ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE CONTACT, AND VITALITY OUTCOMES

The links between ethnicity and language have been widely examined, as the latter has been understood co-existential to the former (Fishman, 2013, p. 5), modeling a strong correlation (Fought, 2012, p. 283). According to Fought (2006, pp. 16-17), "Ethnicity is a complex process of constructing and reproducing identities within a particular community, a process intertwined with social, historical, and biographical factors." In simple terms, ethnicity can be understood as

a type of identity based on the ethnos. However, ethnicity and an individual's ethnic identity are not mutually interchangeable (Fought, 2006, p. 6) as ethnicity also supposes a collective representation of cultural contiguity of an ethnic group from generation through generation. Furthermore, ethnicity cannot be reduced to the cultural heritage of the group; it is mutable and dynamic and becomes more relevant when the definition of boundaries between an out-group and an in-group is crucial in a given situation (see the notion of interethnic discordance in section 2.2.2.2). Thus, ethnicity is an ideological construction of the features that distinguish one group from another and these features may be physical and concrete, such as skin-color, or abstract and diffuse such as one's beliefs (Fought, 2006, pp. 13, 17). Therefore, ethnicity also has integrative functions (Fishman, 2013, p. 12) of a collectivity around a pool of cultural values that are shared and implicitly endorsed and updated in everyday life. Thus, beyond the allegedly common ancestors, an ethnic group also shares dynamic cultural values, variable rules of communication and interaction, and membership categories (Fought, 2012, p. 283), as well as rights and obligations (Fishman, 2013, p. 4), which are adaptable for the survival and contiguity of the group in interethnic relationships.

Language is usually one of the most salient cultural values of an ethnic group (Carlin et al., 2014, p. 4). Its naming function, its patterns of cultural transmission, and its daily use for multiple practices often make language salient for the identity of individuals. The language(s) spoken and the ways of speaking usually identify the individual(s) as belonging to a certain membership or class (Gafaranga, 2001, pp. 1913-1915, Torras & Gafaranga, 2002). Therefore, the cultural values and linguistic identities of the ethnic groups may be challenged in a given language contact case. Depending on the situation, the challenge may give room for some language learning and bilingualism for all or some individuals of one or more ethnic groups.

The challenge is important because language contact processes are usually not completely language oriented but may also be politically governed. Usually, the targets of the contact between ethnic groups have been economical (e.g. extraction of sources of wealth, cheap workforces, slavery) and/or geopolitical (e.g. colonial campaigns, sovereignty, military bases). In these cases, languages may be disregarded for political ends. For example, the disputes between British, Spanish, French, and Holland regimes (Hussey, 1929; Schneider, 2012, pp. 478-480) and the subsequent nationalism processes (Fishman, 1968) that took place in the Caribbean were not ethnic or language oriented and so they ignored language and ethnic commonalities across the

region (e.g. Jamaica, San Andrés). Specifically, the Colombianization of San Andrés and Providencia (Albuquerque & Stinner, 1978) did not consider their ethnic and linguistic connections with the neighboring Jamaica; Cayman Islands; Bluefields and Corn Islands, Nicaragua; Limón, Costa Rica; or Colón, Panama. Given that this kind of contact promotes hierarchical structures associated to economical power and ideologies of social class and racism, the languages in contact often undergo processes of *language maintenance, language shift, language attrition,* and *reversing language shift*, among other possible outcomes of vitality.

2.1.1 Language maintenance

According to Fishman (2013, p. 57), language maintenance is one of the possible resolutions of language contact between a local language and an intrusive language. In such a case, the resolution is that both languages are maintained instead of one or the other being lost. In Fishman's (2013, pp. 67-68) model, this resolution is dependent on the arrangement of sociopolitical conditions that hold separate functions for both languages (i.e. a diglossic situation). Specifically, one of the languages retain vernacular functions as a Low (L) status language for daily communication, while the other attains Higher (H) functions in official domains such as public administration, education, and literacy.

Romaine (2006, p. 451-457) criticizes Fishman's model as it takes diglossia as a frame. Her criticism brings three important arguments. First, the understanding of a diglossic situation as a case of language maintenance reproduces ideologies of hierarchical structures. Thus, the language of a socially empowered group takes functions represented as superior, while the language of those apparently subjugated (e.g. peasants, indigenous people, slave descendants) holds functions considered as less worthy. Indeed, diglossia appears to be less useful as a model for language maintenance as it may be only a transitory phase to the dominant language, which is reinforced with the social structures imposed (Romaine, 2006, pp. 451-452).

The second important argument of Romaine (2006, pp. 453-454) is that a strict separation of functions between an L and an H language rarely takes place in bilingual communities. Citing Pedraza, Attinassi, and Hoffman (1980), Romaine exemplifies the case of bilingual Puerto Ricans in New York, who, contrary to the expectations, speak English in different private domains and Spanish in different public domains. Moreover, bilingual activities such as code

switching (Gardner-Chloros, 2012, pp. 188-207), language convergence (Yakpo et al., 2014), and lexical borrowing (Winford, 2003, pp. 29-60) are common practices in language contact settings and may promote language maintenance. Collomb and Renault-Lescure (2014, p. 104) argue that borrowing can be used "to appropriate, to resist or to take control of" imposed structures. Winford (2003, pp. 38-39) shows that borrowing is often a creative activity that helps to fill lexical gaps and expand stylistic expressiveness. Gardner-Chloros (2012, p. 193) argues that convergence and code switching may play a role in the formation of new varieties, which can be understood as maintenance solutions.

Romaine's third argument is that language maintenance and intergenerational transmission must be differentiated (2006, p. 465). Language maintenance is often related to minority languages facing threatening conditions (Fishman, 2013, p. 6). Therefore, different efforts are oriented to strengthen the presence of the minority language in different domains such as the school, the mass media, and the public life, assuming that such language would be maintained by getting access to these H domains. Likewise, the language may be provided with a written corpus (e.g. grammars, dictionaries, and other materials) to pursue a comparable status with the dominant language(s). However, none of these procedures guarantee intergenerational transmission at home. Romaine (2006, pp. 455, 466) cites the compelling case of Basque, which has achieved roles in official domains in public life but decreased in use at home and other private domains, so that Basque learners in schools surpass its native speakers. Following Romaine, I will consider intergenerational transmission at home as the crucial factor for the preservation of a language, so that achieving public uses or H domains without intergenerational transmission at home would not be a genuine case of *language maintenance*. Consider, for example, that the written and oral functions that Latin used to enjoy in church and the fact that it is still taught for the interpretation of texts does not mean that this language is maintained in the sense conveyed here.

2.1.2 Language shift

Language shift is the alternative outcome to language maintenance in Fishman's (2013, p. 57) model. It is the process of losing either a local or an intrusive language because one of the ethnic groups is abandoning its language and shifting to the other language. Language shift supposes

the loss of speakers and speech domains (Romaine, 2006, p. 443), as well as structural results, such as simplification, reduction of stylistic choices (Romaine, 2000, p. 54), convergence, and language transfer (Hickey, 2012, p. 155). However, the interpretation of these structural processes as indexes of language shift must correlate to a gradual reduction of linguistic skills and a lack of language transmission to the new generations.

Although Fishman's (2013, p. 65) statement relates to either a local or an intrusive language, he acknowledges that the most common cases of language shift are those of minority language(s) suffering the intrusion of another language, its speakers, and culture. Romaine (2000, p. 50) points out that the expansion of major world languages (e.g. English, Spanish), threatens minority languages, triggers language shift, and ultimately may cause the death of such languages. A representative investigation on language shift is the classic study of Gal (1978) on a Hungarian-German bilingual community from Oberwart, Austria. As new significant surges of German monolingual immigrants arrived during post-war times, the town underwent urbanization and industrialization. The former Hungarians progressively shifted to German and young females, who wished the better life that German represented, led the shifting process.

Fishman (2013, p. 58-67) points out different factors that favor language shift. The reallocation of functions of the languages in contact often makes languages subject to judgments of ethnic authenticity and usefulness to accomplish social goals. Similarly, the social benefits derived from mastering a language other than the mother tongue is a crucial factor as it may enhance the social prestige of the shifting speakers and provide them with rewards, such as access to jobs, economic resources, or education. Therefore, the non-native language may become an ideal target for those who wish such rewards, which are balanced against ethnic values and social stigmas. In the case of Hungarian-speaking young women, the German language represented the possibility of giving up the peasant life, marrying a German-speaking male who could get industrial or commercial jobs and, therefore, being provided with appliances that make household chores easier (Gal, 1978, pp. 9-14). Certainly, Kulick (1992, p. 9) points out that language shift is often the result or the expression of social or personal shifts such as those illustrated by Gal (see the notion of language shift motivations in section 2.2.2.4). Kulick (1992, pp. 12-14) also states that language socialization is a decisive ingredient of language shift. Namely, it is crucial to know whether or not the language is transmitted at home, to what extent the use of the language is encouraged in the community, and what role siblings and peers may

play in the socialization of newborns. In brief, as intergenerational transmission is a key factor for language maintenance, its absence is also decisive for language shift.

2.1.3 Language attrition

Language attrition is the outcome of an ongoing process of language shift or death. It involves the progressive simplification, reduction, or disappearance of grammatical structures, morphosyntactic distinctions, lexical systems, and/or stylistic choices (Muysken, 2012, p. 277). Language attrition also supposes a decline in language use, linguistic proficiency, and intergenerational transmission, modeling a broad scale of proficiency achievement: dominant bilinguals, semi-speakers, passive bilinguals, terminal speakers (Romaine, 2012, p. 325). Due to the pressure from the social structures of the dominant group, the process may lead to the reduction of culturally distinctive vocabulary, as well as a decline in the use of word formation rules, kinship terms, classifier systems –if any-, and pronominal systems (Romaine, 2012, pp. 326-330). It may also have consequences on the loss of phonological distinctions, the reduction of allomorphic distinctions, and the simplification and disappearance of syntactic structures available earlier (Romaine, 2012, pp. 330-332). The author, however, warns against quick conclusions, given that these changes might be both internally motivated or contact-induced (Romaine, 2012, pp. 335-336). She suggests paying close attention to linguistic attitudes and social networks as they may encourage or discourage the above processes. Social networks, understood as a "web of ties […] linking individuals […] with strong and weak ties" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 117), can be especially informative of the daily practices leading to language change. I will expand the discussion of language attrition in section 7.1.

2.1.4 Reversing language shift

Reversing language shift is understood as the opposite of language shift but it is far from simplistic. Romaine (2006, p. 444) points out that it does not mean giving back former speech domains to the language that lost them. Neither does it mean forgetting the threatening language, sending its speakers into exile, and returning to an earlier monolingual state. On the contrary, reversing language shift must be understood as a revitalization process (Romaine, 2006, p. 464)

in which the shifting process starts to cease and the threatened language shows some signs of recovery, such as being used at home and in daily life across different age groups and social layers of the ethnic group. Very importantly, some progression in intergenerational transmission may suggest that the language is gaining new native speakers (Romaine, 2006, p. 465). Hence, a conclusive statement about reversing language shift should show that the gains of native speakers are larger than the losses or have a tendency to be higher in the future.

The data shown by Romaine (2006, pp. 449-450) reveal that the attested cases of reversing language shift of minority languages are scarce, with Warlpiri (Australia) being the most salient case. The attempts to enhance the status of threatened languages with the provision of some uses in new domains (e.g. schools, mass media, literacy) can fail if they assume that the languages can get higher prestige and daily use if they appear in those H domains. The earlier cited example of Basque is perhaps the best indication that this is not necessarily the case. Romaine (2006, pp. 458-463) also shows further examples of attempts to replace dominant languages with minority languages in schools: Kiswahili instead of English in Tanzania, Malagasy instead of French in Madagascar, and Hindi instead of English in India. These attempts of reversing language shift were not successful, as in India, or they were successful for a while, as in Madagascar and Tanzania, but then they were reversed as the overwhelming demands to speak the major languages increased.

In order to attain a better understanding of reversing language shift, Romaine (2006, p. 454) argues for a bottom-up process. That is, language revitalization can be ensured only if the basic domains of daily communication are maintained (e.g. home, extended family, social networks). Finally, Romaine (2006, pp. 464, 467) calls for a more inclusive understanding of reversing language shift as a continuing process of negotiation, in which the local ideologies play a crucial role.

In this section, I have shown that the most general outcomes of language contact are diverse. Although I have presented these outcomes as distinctive solutions, it is important to point out that they are not mutually exclusive nor are they discrete. For example, some speakers can maintain the language, while other speakers may undergo language shift, and others may offer active resistance to the shift. Thus, the direction and the speed of these changes do not have to be equal for all. These outcomes should not be seen as endpoints, but rather dynamic processes of contact.

2.2 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE EV THEORY

The EV theory was intended as a general language theory of interethnic relationships between different groups that face more or less favorable conditions for survival (Giles et al., 1977, pp. 307-348). EV is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308); therefore, a language remains vital when their speakers manage to use it actively and keep it as an emblematic device in interethnic relationships. The authors developed criteria to assess vitality of ethnic groups according to status, demographic, and institutional factors and proposed a distinction between objective EV and subjective EV (Bourhis et al., 1981). Objective EV included the evaluation of the geographical and demographic distribution of the group, birth and migration rates, patterns of endo- and exogamous marriage, the distribution of economic and symbolic power across subgroups, and formal and informal support to the groups and their languages through different institutions. Subjective EV means the perceived EV from the perspective of the ethnic group members. For the assessment of subjective EV, Bourhis et al (1981) designed the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ), which targets the subjects' perspectives in the status, demographic, and institutional support factors. These perspectives are contrasted with the objective information gathered. Based on the arrangement of such factors, different vitality configurations are predicted, such as high, low, and medium vitality, as well as intermediate degrees.

The greatest merit of the EV theory is its sensitivity to social factors and its care of relational cues. With Yagmur and Ehala (2011, p. 106) and Mc-Entee-Atalianis (2011, p. 152), it must be acknowledged that the theory is a point of reference and has been very productive over nearly forty years. The theory also has expanded through different fields (e.g. Sociology, Social Psychology, Cultural Studies, Anthropology) and amounted to a growing body of empirical evidence. Certainly, the SEVQ helps understand overt attitudes of the members of the ethnic groups, while the application of standardized measures and the assessment of demographic factors are also necessary steps to provide an overview of the interethnic relationships.

2.2.1 Criticism

Notwithstanding the contributions of the EV theory, it also has raised substantial criticism from different perspectives and authors (Mc-Entee-Atalianis, 2011, pp. 151-152, Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011, pp. 122, 133), as systematically summarized by Yagmur (2011, pp. 117-119). The most important criticism is that the EV theory alone does not fully explain the vitality of a language but must be complemented with other findings and methods. A heavy reliance on the mainstream institutions and demographic and status factors defined from the perspective of the dominant groups tends to underestimate the vitality of minority languages and to ignore processes of social resistance, mobilization, and emotional attachment from minority groups. These issues call into question the coherence of the model (Yagmur, 2011, p. 119), the consistency of its principles, the adequacy of its methods (Ehala, 2011: 189), and its theoretical establishment (Mc-Entee-Atalianis, 2011, p. 153).

Furthermore, the linguistic evidence for EV has not been defined clearly. It mainly relies on pronunciation features taken as indexes of convergence and divergence, basically *shibboleth* tests. This weakness is important because EV was posited a theory of the role that language plays for interethnic relationships and ethnicity (Giles et al., 1977, p. 307). Clyne (1992, pp. 17-36), for example, discusses the gaps between four different paradigms on the investigation of EV: language contact, language shift, language loss, and language death. The author pointed out different perspectives of EV depending on the paradigm. Similarly, Crystal (2000, pp. 7-10) indicates that different criteria to measure the number of languages and dialects lead to different outputs of EV. Thus, while most of the studies on language contact have focused on interactional processes, studies on language death tend to focus on broader sociopolitical aspects. Likewise, studies of language attrition have focused on individual processes, whereas studies of language shift pay closer attention to social processes. When different criteria for language and dialect distinctions are considered and they are tied to endo- and exogamous relationships, the results become even more complicated. Therefore, as John Edwards (1992, pp. 37-54) discusses, the EV theory in its canonical form lacks specificity. The model outlines a rudimentary assessment of vitality on inexact dimensions of assessment.

Additionally, the SEVQ does not provide consistent and reliable results across different groups or across the same group at different times (De Vries, 1992, pp. 210-222). The variables

considered within SEVQ are not equally correlated (Mc-Entee-Atalianis, 2011, p. 153) and not necessarily independent (Moring et al., 2011, p. 172) and, therefore, they can lead to contradictory results (Ehala, 2011, p. 188). Problems of sampling and response bias may increase hesitations about the validity of the data collected through the questionnaires alone.

In light of some of these problems, Abrams, Barker, and Giles (2009) revisited the theory and examined the validity of the SEVQ. They investigated the vitality perceptions of African, Asian, and Hispanic Americans in the US. Their results indicate that the SEVQ failed to adequately disclose the demographic, status, and institutional support factors of EV in a multidimensional fashion, as originally stated. These results suggest that questionnaires are insufficient for the analysis of the subjective-ideological component of EV. Indeed, the investigation of the subjective-ideological component of EV on creole language ecologies demands alternative methods given that their ideologies are usually nested with implicit stigmas historically attached to creole language development and, sometimes, a positive identification with a model culture other than the Creole society (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 265-266). If clearer linguistic evidence indexing subjective ideological perceptions is found, then more confident results may be based on such evidence.

2.2.2 Undertaking new approaches to the EV theory

The discussion above shows that there is enormous room for improvement in the EV theory. De Vries (1992, p. 220) recommends an interdisciplinary approach that uses indirect strategies of data collection. He suggests repeated-measures designs to make comparisons of the same individuals through different samples representing the average behavior of such individuals. Mc-Entee-Atalianis (2011, p. 152) points to cross-disciplinary research, the incorporation of more integrative approaches (e.g. ethnography, discourse analysis), and the inclusion of more sophisticated tools as avenues to gain insights into the emic viewpoint and the complex nature of interethnic relationships. In brief, the members of the ethnic groups are not passive entities within social structures. Instead, they are active subjects of dynamic social processes and, therefore, an EV theory needs to embrace their agency and give them voice. This section discusses four possible avenues to undertake an EV study in a more comprehensive approach aiming at the (inter-) subjective EV and the emic viewpoint as forces that, beyond subjective

perceptions, mobilize subjects' actions: (1) language ideologies, (2) interethnic discordance, (3) EV modes, and (4) language shift motivations. I will use these categories for the analysis of ideologies presented in chapter 6.

2.2.2.1 *Language ideologies.* The inclusion of language ideologies in the EV frame is one of the possible ways to undertake more comprehensive approaches to the complexity of interethnic relationships (Woolard, 1992, p. 242, 1998, pp. 16, 26-27). Language ideologies are defined as heterogeneous ideas, beliefs, or representations of the language(s) (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498), relating the speech itself to social structures and practices (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). The importance of language ideologies for EV relies on the fact that they can circulate through naturalized discourse practices and stereotypical statements about the languages and their speakers, so that the *status quo* may be admitted as natural or expected, even at the expense of a language being lost. They may also help explain awakening processes in which the speakers of a threatened language retain it loyally despite compelling circumstances (Kroskrity, 1998, pp. 104-105). Although the speakers' rationalization is an important factor in language ideologies (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193), they are also implicitly associated to the ethnic groups of the speakers (Fought, 2006, p. 21), their moral values (Irvine, 1989, p. 9), and their social and discourse practices (Woolard, 1992, p. 235, 1998, p. 14).

For the study of language ideologies in interethnic relationships, I propose the following categories: (1) the complexity and completeness of the speech, (2) the quality and status of the speech, (3) communication means, (4) linguistic affiliation, (5) speech purity, and (6) speech domains and functions. The complexity and completeness of the speech relates to ideological representations of linguistic varieties as being more or less complex and complete than others. The representation of pidgin and creole languages as simplified varieties is an example of this category (Irvine, 1989, p. 251). This explains stereotypical statements declaring these varieties as incomplete or lacking a fully-fledge grammar in contrast to dominant varieties, represented as complex, complete, and fully-fledge (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 63). The quality and status of the speech relates to ideological judgments of the quality of a variety and how that quality fits into a given status from the speaker's perspective: language, dialect, register, style, or standard and non-standard (Irvine, 1998, p. 60; Milroy, 2000, pp. 56-57). An example of this category is the ideological representation of creoles as broken varieties, dialects, or non-standard varieties,

as compared to dominant varieties judged as fully-fledged languages or standard varieties (Milroy, 2000, p. 73). The communication means relate to the belief that a linguistic variety is or must be oral or written, or both. Some possible examples of this category are the pervasive ideas that oral varieties lack a grammar and that a linguistic variety needs a written grammar to become language (Woolard, 1998, p. 17).

Linguistic affiliation relates to ideological representations of linguistic varieties as related to other varieties through heritage, structure, or mixture. Some examples of this category may be the affiliation of creoles to their lexifiers as ancestors and an alleged grammatical continuum from one to another. Speech purity relates to the ideological representation of a variety as pure, genuine, and unmixed, as compared to corrupted varieties, contaminated with alien linguistic features (Hill, 1998, pp. 68-69; Kroskrity, 1998, pp. 107-109; Ramos-Pellicia, 2014, pp. 28-34). Finally, speech domains and functions relates to ideological associations of speech domains and functions to a given linguistic variety (Irvine, 1989, p. 252; Kroskrity, 1998, pp. 109-112). An example of this category may be the belief that only a specific language can be used in the church (e.g. Latin); History has shown the ideological nature of such kind of statements. In all, these ideological categorizations are important for the EV theory because they can promote or discourage language retention from the bottom lines.

2.2.2.2 *Interethnic discordance.* Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) propose the concept of perceived inter-ethnic discordance as a productive construct to explain the subjective EV in interethnic relationships. The perceived interethnic discordance is defined as a cluster of perceptions emphasizing the distance, the disagreement, and the differences between the ethnic groups in contact. The authors outline four basic components for the extent of the discordance: "(1) […] illegitimacy of the interethnic situation, (2) […] lack of confidence in the out-group, (3) […] openness to inter-group cooperation, and (4) […] out-group dehumanization" (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011, p. 126).

Table 3 summarizes the arrangement of these components for the perceptions of more or less discordance. Given that, according to Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, p. 127), the illegitimacy of the interethnic situation is a highly context-sensitive category, and is defined here as an array of perceptions of injustice, unfairness, exploitation, and ill treatment from the dominant group. Lack of confidence relates to general perceptions of distrust in the institutions, actions, and

public figures of the out-group. Openness to inter-group cooperation indicates the perception of the out-group's willingness to cooperate with the in-group. The more cooperative and helpful the out-group is, the lesser the perception of interethnic discordance. Finally, dehumanization relates to perceptions of instinctive, aggressive, and irrational behaviors of the out-group. The authors tested the model with a sample of 460 Russian L1 speakers living in Estonia, applied numerical measures of interethnic discordance, and relate them to perceptions of the subjective EV (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011, p. 126).

Table 3. Components of interethnic discordance

Components	Higher interethnic discordance	Lower interethnic discordance
Legitimacy	- The interethnic situation is perceived as illegitimate. - The historical processes leading to the interethnic relationships are perceived as unfair and outrageous. - Narratives of past and present experiences emphasize exploitation and ill treatment from the out-group.	- The interethnic situation is accepted and legitimized. - Some development of the in-group is attributed to the interethnic relationship - Some benefits from the interethnic situation are acknowledged.
Confidence	- Overall feeling of distrust in the institutions, actions, and figures of the out-group. - General aversion to the out-group.	- Appreciation of the institutions, actions, and figures of the out-group. - Acceptance of the out-group.
Cooperation	- Members of the out-group are perceived as uncooperative. - No benefit is derived from the out-group. They are selfish.	- Members of the out-group are perceived as cooperative. - Some benefits are derived from the out-group. They are fair.
Dehumanization	- Members of the out-group are perceived as low-instinct behaving. - Aggressive, irrational, and wild attitudes are linked to the out-group.	- Members of the out-group are perceived as rational. - Polite and moderate attitudes are linked to the out-group.

Overall, Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) found that the lower the perception of subjective EV the higher the perceived interethnic discordance. In the authors' opinion, a high perceived interethnic discordance and a pessimistic perception of the subjective EV may actually help EV given a perceived threat from the out-group. Thus, emphasizing the distance, the disagreement, and the differences between the ethnic groups may be reflective of the in-group efforts to praise their values, strengthen their boundaries, and encourage solidarity among the members of the in-group as a response to the perceived threat.

2.2.2.3 *EV Modes.* A complement to the perceived interethnic discordance is the model of EV modes proposed by Ehala (2011). The perceived interethnic discordance emphasizes the perceptions of differences between the groups, whereas the EV modes focus on the emotional attachment of the individuals to their ethnic groups and how this attachment may impact on collective behaviors (Ehala, 2011, p. 191). Thus, the model recognizes the agency of the ethnic group members regarding the maintenance and vitality of their language and other social institutions. Ehala (2011, pp. 192-194) outlines two types of EV modes: hot and cold modes. These modes are not sharp categories but the extremes of a continuum, depending on the individuals' motivations, emotional attachment, and commitment to their group.

As summarized in Table 4, a cold EV mode is understood as a type of behavior in which the individual participation in collective actions is seemingly a cognitive decision resulting from rational motivations, such as a calculation of risks, costs, and benefits (Ehala, 2011, pp. 192-193). Strong ethnic groups –such as Western wealthy societies– that operate on this EV mode are vital (Ehala, 2011, p. 193), even though a cold mode may be observed in any ethnic group. Given that in this EV mode, the individuals are pursuing their self-sufficiency, the commitment and emotional attachment to the group appear to be low or latent (Ehala, 2011, p. 192). This does not mean that the individuals are uncommitted or disengaged from their groups but they do not have to display all their subjectivity in the absence of socially compelling circumstances. Thus, an ethnic group operating in a cold EV mode can shift into a hot EV mode when facing situations that threaten the survival of the group (Ehala, 2011, p. 193): a war, a violent invasion or aggression by an alien government, or a dictator massively expropriating their houses.

A hot EV mode is understood as a type of behavior in which the individuals display high levels of emotional attachment to the group (Ehala, 2011, p. 193). Their participation in collective actions appears to follow the collective alignment of emotions and altruistic motivations that give relevance to the benefit of the group (Ehala, 2011, p. 192). Small ethnic groups –such as Creole and indigenous societies– that are vital usually operate on a hot mode given that they often lack sophisticated systems of individual benefits and, therefore, require cohesive mechanisms that rely on emotions (Ehala, 2011, p. 193), authenticity, and solidarity. As a result, the individuals display a stronger commitment to the group, strengthen their boundaries, and display negative attitudes toward the out-group. Overall, groups operating in the hot mode emphasize interethnic discordance as a way of distinguishing themselves from the out-group.

Under this mode, small and relatively weak groups may survive and retain their language when facing potential threats from major groups (Ehala, 2011, pp. 193-194). Lastly, given that these are not black and white categories, both groups and individuals can swing from one to another mode; furthermore, a group would hardly be categorically emotional and deficient of any reasoning or absolutely rational and deficient of emotional reactions (Ehala, 2011, pp. 194).

Table 4. Cold and hot EV modes

	Cold EV mode	Hot EV mode
Motivations	- Self-beneficial: individual sufficiency or success. - Rational calculation of risks, costs, and benefits.	- Group-beneficial: altruistic concerns for the group. - Collective alignment of emotions: a perceived threat.
Emotional attachment	- Low or not explicit.	- High and salient.
Commitment to the group	- No apparent commitment beyond fulfilling the law under a system of benefits and sanctions.	- Commitment to the cohesion of the group even in a weak system of benefits.
Possible situations	- A Western welfare society whose language and institutions are robust. - A small ethnic group under increasing assimilation to a larger group without offering resistance.	- A small active ethnic group facing threatening situations. - A Western welfare society facing extreme socio-historical circumstances.

2.2.2.4 *Language shift motivations.* According to Karan (2011, p. 137), language shift is the process in which an ethnic group progressively increases the use of a language "at the expense of another language." Language shift is commonplace in interethnic relationships but group processes rely on the individual decisions of its members. The perceived benefit model of language shift proposed by Karan (2011) is a productive method to inquire into the individual motivations to shift from one to another language. Ideally, the study of EV from a macro viewpoint should be complemented with the investigation of the bottom line processes at the individual level (Karan 2011, p. 138). This model explains the individual motivations for language use based on the benefits that individuals perceive in the use of one or another language. The model embraces both the motivations behind the increasing use of a language, for example when the use of a language may bring social rewards, and the motivations behind the lessening use of another language, for example when the use of a language may potentially harm the individual image (Karan 2011, p. 139).

The author outlines a taxonomy of six types of individual motivations for language shift: (1) communicative, (2) economic, (3) social identity, (4) language power and prestige, (5) nationalistic and political, and (6) religious (Karan, 2011, pp. 140-143). Communicative motivations are those that intend to facilitate communication either with the out-group or with those who have already shifted to the major language. Economic motivations are those that pursue economic benefits that derive from job, trade, or networking. Social identity motivations relate to the aspiration of being linked to a prestigious group or person, the aim of distancing themselves from another group or person, or the desire to display solidarity towards a group or person. Language, power and prestige motivations are similar to social identity motivations but differ from them in that the associations of prestige or powerless relate to the languages themselves, certain varieties, or language forms perceived as high or low. National and political motivations relate to the display of affinity to a certain nation or political party, or the desire of being perceived as a fellow of these groups. Religious motivations relate to the associations of languages to deities or certain ritual functions. The author clarifies that this is an analytical set of complex motivations that can overlap and explains that the analysis of EV should include both individual motivations and language use (Karan, 2011, pp. 140, 144-145).

2.3 EV IN CREOLE LANGUAGE CONTEXTS

The concept of EV implicitly assumes homogeneous groups that, coming into contact, face less or more risks for survival of both the culture and the language. Creole languages challenge this concept, not only because they are contact languages themselves, but also because almost every aspect may index interethnic relationships without necessary indication of vitality. The example given by Holm (2012, p. 257) about the creoles from Cape-Verde and Guiné Bissau illustrates this point clearly. The linguistic features derived from convergence and the combined effect of substrate and lexifier influences on the creole yield a large percentage (73.5%) that surpasses the features found in the lexifier (5.1%) or in Creole alone (9.2%). Indeed, the interpretation of linguistic evidence on creoles is not straightforward and demands closer examination.

By looking for the linguistic evidence of EV in creole language contact settings, the linguistic practices in the varieties of the linguistic repertoire may give some cues as language

change is speeded up in contact settings (Holm, 2012, p. 252). Furthermore, Aikenvald (2002, p. 144) points out that healthy and endangered languages do not differ on the type of change, which may be the same for both of them, but in the quantity and speed of the changes. She shows how Tariana, an obsolescent language spoken in Brazil, develops processes of morphological enrichment and calquing from Tucano, a stronger neighboring language. Along with other innovative processes, this suggests that Tariana is surviving at the expense of its neighbor. In brief, any attempt to answer questions about EV in a language contact setting should rely not only on linguistic evidence but also on a careful understanding of the specific ecology of the contact situation (Mufwene, 2001b). In fact, Mühlhäusler (2002, pp. 34-39) points out that one cannot preserve languages but ecologies.

2.3.1 Creole language ecologies and their EV

Regarding the Creole language ecologies, Mufwene (2001a, p. 66) argues that we still know little about creoles mainly because creolization has been understood as a structural rather than a social process. He states that the process of language change is the same in both language and dialectal contacts, by competition and selection of features available in the linguistic pool of spoken varieties (Mufwene, 2001a, pp. 71-72, 76). If such discussion, originally meant for the genesis and development of creoles, is brought to the current contact situations of creoles, then the output of EV now depends largely on what features become selected and how they interact in daily linguistic practices.

The complexity added by ideological stances towards ethnic groups and linguistic varieties of the context make the task harder because they tie to intricate historical processes (e.g. slavery) that included hostility, segregation, and outrage to a considerable extent. Although these historical failures caused creoles to be perceived as low status languages, there is often a combination of negative and positive attitudes (Migge & Léglise, 2015, p. 95; Eades & Siegel, 1999, p. 266), as creoles may simultaneously display some covert prestige as the everyday language and as a symbol of identity and ethnic authenticity (Carlin et al., 2014, pp. 1, 4). For instance, Romaine (1999), Eades and Siegel (1999), and Migge and Léglise (2015, p. 91) document changing attitudes toward Hawaiian Creole, Australian creoles, and Maroon creoles, respectively, so that the native speakers are displaying increasingly more positive attitudes. For

example, Romaine (1999, p. 296) found that Hawaiian Creole was rated higher than English in the solidarity dimension, even though English received higher rates in the power dimension.

Therefore, instead of general theoretical frameworks of EV, creole language contact settings need to be interpreted within their specific ecologies on a case-by-case base. Certainly, Mufwene (2001a, p. 69) reminds us that languages are social constructs whose change is promoted at the interidiolectal level. Therefore, what can be observed in bilingual practices of creole speakers such as code-switching, lexical borrowing, and selection of competing features may index EV only if they are grounded on a deep description of the ecology of the contact and the ideological forces mobilizing such activities in a certain direction. For example, Yakpo et al's study (2014, p. 195) on the linguistic consequences of language contact in Suriname shows that such results are related to the increasing geographical mobility of the ethnic groups, urbanization processes, technology, social media, school, as well as the multilingual identities that these processes may lead to. Migge and Léglise (2015, pp. 78, 81, 109) found a similar result among Surinamese and Guianese children, who reported a creole language as either their L1 or as an additional language. Being engaged in multilingual contexts, these children also displayed further ideological distinctions between urban and rural speech. In the Caribbean, the social mobility and multilingual contexts might have led to an increasing exogamy and a possible weakening of the earlier ideological association of skin complexion with social status (Schneider, 2012, p. 482).

So far, I have argued that linguistic features are nested with demographic factors and social ideologies. For example, popular ideologies of some creole communities that they speak a colloquial variety of the lexifier language -say English- may explain ideological forces mobilizing creole retention and a given output of EV. Indeed, Mufwene (2001a, pp. 67, 69) argues against an indiscriminate use of the term *creole* in cases where creole speakers do not use it. On the contrary, he suggests that creoles may be understood as *disfranchised dialects* of the lexifier (Mufwene 2001a, pp. 76-78). In brief, there is a need for appropriate methods to uncover ideologies mobilizing linguistic practices and other indexes of EV.

2.3.2 Previous studies on San Andrés and Providencia

There is no previous study systematically addressing the Islander Creole EV on San Andrés and Providencia. I have found some sociolinguistic and anthropological studies that have addressed the relatively recent contact with Continental Colombia and the Spanish language. Most of them provide some insights on the effects of the contact both in the culture and in the language, with some references to the social domains and the social strength of the languages as well as the influences on one on another. Therefore, I will focus specifically on what these studies may contribute to the understanding of the EV of Islander Creole, notwithstanding the fact that those investigations also include other aspects of the islands and their sociolinguistic situation, which are important but not of particular interest in this section.

Parsons (1956) carried out an ethno-historical geographical study of San Andrés and Providencia. Although he did not aim at the sociolinguistic situation of the islands, the study contains a small valuable section dedicated to language (Parsons, 1956, pp. 46-48), which provides a glance of the early years of the free-port period. The author witnessed the growing presence of Spanish, which was compulsory in the schools, jobs, and public institutions, and predicted that "the coming generation will be bilingual" (Parsons, 1956, pp. 47), but Creole would continue being the language of the streets.

Friedemann (1965a, 1965b) did an anthropological study on San Andrés. Regarding the language, she found that youngsters were fluent in Spanish and served as interpreters for the adults, who only spoke Creole. English, on the other hand, was spoken by a small minority who sent their children to study in the US or Jamaica (Friedemann, 1965b, p. 216).

Jay Edwards (1970, 1974, 1975) is the pioneer researcher on the sociolinguistics of the islands. He provides the first comprehensive approach to the structure of the language, its history, variation across social variables, and recent contact phenomena. The study contains references to the social functions and strength of the languages spoken on the islands, which allows us to get an idea of the Creole EV in the late-sixties and early-seventies. Jay Edwards (1970, pp. 89, 254) explains that Spanish had replaced English in Education and in other official domains and had become the public language for islanders, while English was spoken only by a few people (Jay Edwards et al., 1975, p. 1) and Creole was reserved to the private domain as the in-group language. He also indicates different results of the contact such as bilingualism, code-

switching, linguistic interference, borrowing, and the possible emergence of what appeared to be a Spanish-English Creole. The 1970 dissertation, however, indicated that the size of those effects was small and that they were more common in North End, which was the most Colombianized geographical area of San Andrés, and among youngsters, official workers, interethnic families, or people who had studied out of the island. Other issues discussed by this author included an overall negative attitude toward the Creole language and the local culture, the rejection of blackness and every trace of Africanism, and an overestimation of European and American cultural models (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 255, 265-266, 275-277). Providencia is described as almost unaffected by these processes but those related to the praising of the Anglo-culture (Jay Edwards, 1970, p. 238).

Wilson (1973) conducted a social anthropological study of the island of Providencia. Regarding the sociolinguistic situation, he states that the reference group for most of the islanders was a middle-class family of European standards and good manners, where English is spoken 'properly' (Wilson, 1973, pp. 114-115, 200). The author reported that Spanish had already entered the setting and was gaining growing acceptance, even though a negative attitude toward Colombians –Spanish speakers– was maintained.

Washabaugh (1974, 1977, 1982) is also one of the earliest researchers on Islander Creole. He delivered a thorough study on the structure and variation of the Creole word *fi.* Regarding the sociolinguistic situation in Providencia, he provides an interesting discussion of Wilson's (1973) findings. Washabaugh (1974, pp. 151-154) pointed out that targeting European models as a cultural reference and pursuing Standard English as the conventional language was not a complete picture of the islander ideology. There were also anti-standard forces to keep and use the most 'genuine Creole' –without standardized traits– even in some of the events that Wilson (1973) himself describes, such as narratives, jokes, and other forms of oral tradition. Washabaugh's discussion is valuable not only because it shows that the use of Creole was also appreciated in the seventies, but also because it suggests certain symbolic sanctions to prevent its standardization. I also found opposite standardizing and anti-standardizing forces in people's comments and their speech, which I will discuss in chapters 6 and 7.

Overall, the earliest studies suggest that the first effects of the most intense Spanish-contact of the mid-twentieth Century were perhaps an ideological rearrangement of the social stratification of the linguistic repertoire of the islands, the possible intensification of the low

status of the Creole language, and maybe a few indicators of some of these ideologies on structural phenomena, especially in San Andrés. These facts appear to be the early signs of an intense sociolinguistic destabilization triggered by the extreme contact with Spanish and Colombian mainland from the declaration of the Free port in 1953. These signs entail a clear threat for the language, even though their effect may be either the undermining of the Creole EV, or its awakening as Creole speakers might have been alarmed due to the perceived ethnolinguistic threat, or even a combined effect of both types of results. Indeed, Parson, Friedemann, Wilson and Washabaugh's studies reveal some resistance to the expansion of the official-state language.

During the eighties, Dittmann (1988, 1992) carried out a sociolinguistic study on the islands using an ethnographic method with participatory techniques. Her findings reflect the intensification of the social problems documented in previous studies in San Andrés, while Providencia continued barely affected (Dittmann, 1992, p. 35). The progression of urbanization, the increase of immigrants, and the expansion of the tourist industry had seemly exacerbated the social conflict between the in-group (islanders) and the out-group (continental Colombians) in San Andrés. Land, education, church, and the public life continued to be the major areas of discordance, as non-Raizal populations increased and Spanish expanded, becoming more common in streets and daily life among the youngsters (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 27-28). Dittmann points out a double effect of these facts: (1) the increase of defensive and aggressive attitudes toward Colombians, and (2) certain awakening as Raizals mobilized for their claims. The islanders, however, targeted English as the language of education and public life, while Creole continued to be neglected (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 30, 45-46). For the purposes of this dissertation, Dittmann's findings are important as they suggest that the more harmful the perceived ethnic threat the more intense the response from the threatened group, which is a possible way to sustain the group EV.

More recently, Dittmann conducted a sociolinguistic study on Providencia (2002), and another both on Providencia and on San Andrés (2012). Most of the Raizal participants reported to be bilingual (Islander Creole-Spanish) or trilingual (Islander Creole-Spanish-English) (Dittmann, 2002, 2012). In Providencia, Dittmann (2002, 2012) found that, although Creole is maintained as the language of daily communication among Raizals, Spanish use has grown in the mass media, the schools, writing texts, and music. Although Spanish was the official language of

education, Islander Creole appeared to be unofficially used among students and between teachers and students. English had apparently diminished, even though it was still mentioned, along with Spanish, as one of the languages of church. In San Andrés, Dittmann (2012) found similar results with a larger variation between the Hispanic dominant geographical sections in the North and the Raizal dominant geographical sections, where both Creole and Spanish were used more evenly. She also found a shift to positive attitudes to the Creole language and some written materials on it, which however had little diffusion (Dittmann 2012, pp. 11, 21-22).

Other recent studies are Abouchaar et al (2002) and Abouchaar (2013). Although these results are similar to those of Dittmann (2002), they present more insights into the Creole EV.[9] Abouchaar et al (2002, pp. 78-81) indicate that there is no significant threat to the Creole language in Providencia and predict that it would likely continue to thrive, given that it is the mother tongue for most of the Raizal children and is functional as the language of daily life in the island. In a later study, Abouchaar (2013, pp. 47-49) acknowledges that Islander Creole is in vulnerable condition (which especially applies to San Andrés) and suggests, among other strategies, the revitalization of the English-Creole continuum –meaning the intensification of the contact with English through education– as a possible path to revitalize the Creole language and protect it from the advances of Spanish. I agree with the author that English has been part of the culture, history, and memories of the islands and is highly appreciated among Islanders (2013, p. 52); however, it is hard to predict how a stronger contact with English would contribute to the Creole maintenance. English could also contribute to intensify the stigmatization of the most conservative Creole variants and urge their speakers to avoid them, even though the perception of a threat from English might certainly be lower than from Spanish.

In all, the previous studies analyzed show different layers of the ideologies and attitudes toward the local languages, which may illuminate a possible outcome of the Creole EV. During the early times of intense contact with Spanish since 1953, African heritage tended to be rejected and the Creole language overlooked and neglected, while Spanish started its expansion and English weakened. The studies from the eighties, on the other hand, show some awakening of the Raizal population, the intensification of the interethnic conflict and negative attitudes toward Spanish, and the mobilization around some local values, even though English was still pursued

[9] Although Dittmann (2002) and Abouchaar et al (2002) are two different papers based on the same dataset from a joint research study, the EV insights of the latter justify its separate consideration here.

as a model language. The most recent studies are showing that the Creole language has gotten some gains both ideologically as a language to be proud of and concretely through different actions for its maintenance. Rather than sharp tendencies, all these ideologies appeared as cumulated and intricately intertwined. Thus, although Creole has gained some ground, Spanish continues intensively expanding and English is still represented as a target for Creole speakers. Consequently, it is expected that there would not be a single outcome of EV but one that is multifaceted and complex. Therefore, we need a systematic study specifically addressing the Creole EV using empirical evidence, which is the aim of this dissertation. The research questions are therefore as follows.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1) What is the objective Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Creole language from San Andrés and Providencia Islands?

2) What is the subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Creole Language from San Andrés and Providencia Islands?

3) What are the underlying ideologies behind the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Creole Language from San Andrés and Providencia Islands?

4) What linguistic evidence may cue +/- EV in production data of Creole speakers?

3.0 CHAPTER 3: METHODS

The previous chapter discussed some of the pitfalls and challenges of the EV theory. I have argued that in order to overcome the flaws, a more comprehensive, complex, and multidimensional approach is needed: one that addresses objective available data but also takes into serious consideration the subjective perspective of the Creole speakers. With this in mind, this dissertation takes a multidimensional sociolinguistic approach to the Creole EV. It uses a quantitative-qualitative mixed model and a varied set of methodological tools. The quantitative component aims to assess the objective EV using census information and standardized scales of language endangerment or EV. I also use statistical analyses to examine perception and production data possibly indexing +/-EV for the Creole language. The qualitative component aims to assess the subjective EV using strategies to access the context, collect naturalistic-like data, and explore language ideologies related to EV. The aim is to get a comprehensive understanding of the emic viewpoint of the participants in order to understand their emotional attachment to the language, their motivations to use or not to use a language, and their opinions on different matters of the language and the context of the islands. Nevertheless, qualitative and quantitative methods were not sharply divided but intertwined approaches to the same phenomena. Indeed, some of the methodological instruments I used required both numerical measures and qualitative interpretation and I tried to relate them both in the fieldwork and in this report.

With this in mind, I carried out a 20-week fieldwork both in San Andrés and in Providencia during two different time periods in 2015 and 2016, as summarized in Table 5. The first 9-week fieldwork was a pilot study conducted in both islands in 2015 with the purpose of screening the population, recruiting some participants, and testing some research instruments. The second 11-week fieldwork was also conducted in both islands in 2016 with the purpose of expanding the investigation with refined methods as part of the main study. The archival aspect

of this research was carried out both in local libraries on the islands and in external libraries in Bogotá, Colombia, in Kingston, Jamaica, and in Pittsburgh, United States. This chapter describes the methods used in the pilot and in the main study, as well as the progression and modifications from one to the other. For both studies, I will describe the pool of participants recruited and the different procedures they underwent. Some participants from the pilot study were also enrolled in the main study and so a portion of their data was used for the main study. I will summarize some findings of the pilot study, in order to show why and how they motivated the changes implemented in the main study.

Table 5. Fieldwork

	San Andrés	Providencia	Total
Pilot study (9 weeks)	July 20-August 19, 2015 (4 ½ weeks)	August 20-September 19, 2015 (4 ½ weeks)	July 20-September 19, 2015 (9 weeks)
Main study (11 weeks)	May 15-June 25, 2016 (6 weeks)	June 26-July 30, 2016 (5 weeks)	May 15-July 30, 2016 (11 weeks)
Total	10 ½ weeks	9 ½ weeks	20 weeks

3.1 PILOT STUDY

The pilot study used a cross-sectional design between participants from the two geographic enclaves of Creole: San Andrés and Providencia islands. The inclusion of these enclaves was motivated in the noticeable differences between the two islands regarding the effects of the recent contact with Spanish and the Colombian culture: rapid and growing in San Andrés, while comparatively slower and moderate in Providencia, as discussed in section 1.2.1.3. The pilot study aimed at archival research in local libraries, getting involved in the community, screening the population, recruiting some participants, testing the research instruments designed, and creating a linguistic stimuli pool for a perception task. The 2015 fieldwork was advantageous to get a sense of the islands' ethos, network with Raizal leaders such as pastors, priests, teachers, and cultural activists, and be in touch with local institutions such as churches, schools, and other educational institutions. Overall, the pilot study enabled a grounded view of the community and

was instrumental to gain insights into social aspects that are relevant for EV, such as the perceptions of the outgroup (continental Colombians) and interethnic relationships. Some key findings from the pilot study disclosed some of the real-world nuances of EV and the need to expand the study, refine the methods, and incorporate more integrative methodological tools.

3.1.1 Participants

As shown in Table 6, forty-eight potential participants from San Andrés and seventy-three potential participants from Providencia were surveyed for population screening purposes. From the pool of screened people, sixteen participants (8F, 8M) from San Andrés and twenty-eight from Providencia (14F, 14M) were enrolled in the pilot study. Of those, twelve participants (6F, 6M) from San Andrés and twenty-four (12F, 12M) from Providencia underwent all research procedures described in 3.1.2. The remaining eight participants (4F, 4M) only served as speakers for the construction of a linguistic stimuli pool, which is also described in 3.1.2. The following criteria were used for the selection of all research participants: (1) the person selected gives consent to be enrolled in the research, (2) the person selected is born in one of the islands, is currently living in his/her island of birth and has lived in any of the islands for a major part of his/her life (at least 60% of his/her age) and no less than the last 5 years (2010 to 2015), and (3) the person selected identifies him/herself as a member of the Raizal Ethnic group or as a native Creole speaker.

Table 6. Screened and selected participants

Procedure	SAN ANDRÉS	PROVIDENCIA	Total
Population screening	48	73	121
Main research procedures	12* (6M, 6F)	24* (12M, 12F)	36* (18M, 18F)
Stimuli construction (speakers)	4* (2M, 2F)	4* (2M, 2F)	8* (4M, 4F)
**These participants were selected from the screened population*			

In each enclave, the participants were organized in two age groups of the same size: young adults who were born in 1985 or later and older adults who were born before 1985, as shown in Table 7. The threshold of 1985 was motivated in the recent reorientation of the linguistic and educational policies from the eighties in Colombia. Therefore, the eighties are taken as a reference point of a change from (1) an explicit official pressure to teach and learn Spanish as the national language, to (2) an explicit openness to language diversity and bilingual and intercultural programs in the schools. Although the enclave and age variables must be nested with cultural transmission, any effect of the reorientation of the official policies may be visible among those who experienced them directly. Creole use was no longer prosecuted, and the children born around 1985 or later were probably invited to participate in bilingual programs, initially oriented to English in the eighties, and more recently oriented to intercultural models in the nineties, as discussed in 1.2.5.2. Similarly, the greatest extent of the official pressure to learn and speak Spanish as the national language should be visible especially among those who were born before the eighties, as they were constrained by the nationalist policies at their youth.

Table 7. Enclave and age groups

Enclaves	San Andrés	Providencia
Age groups	8 Young Adults Born in/after 1985	14 Young Adults Born in/after 1985
	8 Older Adults Born before 1985	14 Older Adults Born before 1985

Table 8 summarizes the demographic information of the participants who underwent all research procedures in both islands. In each enclave, half of the participants belonged to the young adult group and the other half to the older adult group, with equal number of males and females in each subgroup. The young adults had an average age of 21 ranging from 18 to 30 years of age. All of them declared their ethnicity either as Raizal or Islander and all but one claimed to speak Creole as their native language and Spanish and English as additional languages –one of the youngsters from Providencia did not declare English as an additional language. The majority of participants from both islands claimed to speak Creole as their native

language and Spanish and English as additional languages, even though one participant from San Andrés and one from Providencia did not declare proficiency in English.

Table 8. Pilot study participants who underwent all research procedures

Groups	San Andrés		Providencia	
	Young adults	Older adults	Young adults	Older adults
Gender	3F, 3M	3F, 3M	6F, 6M	6F, 6M
Age	$\bar{X}$ = 20; Range: 18-30	$\bar{X}$ = 54; Range: 46-67	$\bar{X}$ = 22; Range: 18-28	$\bar{X}$ = 51; Range: 38-71
Neighborhood / Geographical section	- Barkers Hill: 3 - Cove: 2 - Perry Hill: 1	- Downtown: 2 - El Cocal: 1 - Perry Hill: 1 - Orange Hill: 1 - San Luis: 1	- Old Town: 4 - Newly Dawns: 2 - Southwest Bay: 2 - Bottom House: 1 - Bailey: 1 - Rocky Point: 1 - The Mountain: 1	- Bottom House: 3 - Old Town: 2 - The Mountain: 2 - Santa Catalina: 1 - Town: 1 - Newly Dawns: 1 - Bailey: 1 - S. Water Bay: 1
Occupation	- Student: 5 - Cultural affairs: 1	- Secretary: 2 - Nurse: 1 - Janitor: 1 - Tourist guide: 1 - Teacher: 1	- Student: 4 - Fisher: 2 - Tourist guide: 2 - Teacher: 2 - Messenger: 1 - Security guard: 1	- Secretary: 2 - Home stay: 2 - Technical assistant: 1 - Cultural affairs: 1 - Tourist guide: 1 - Teacher: 1 - Student: 1 - Seller/ owner: 1 - Messenger: 1 - Priest/pastor: 1
Highest educational level	- High school: 5/6 - College or technical: 1/6	- Elementary school: 1/6 - College or technical: 5/6	- Elementary school: 1/12 - High school: 7/12 - College or technical: 4/12	- Elementary school: 2/12 - College or technical: 10/12
Declared ethnicity	- Raizal: 5 - Islander: 1	- Raizal: 4 - Colombian: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian: 1	- Raizal: 7 - Islander: 5	- Raizal: 5 - Islander: 3 - Raizal, Islander, and Colombian: 1 - Caribbean: 1 - Raizal, Islander, and Caribbean: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian: 1
Languages spoken	- Creole (L1), Spanish & English: 6	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 5 - Creole (L1) & Spanish: 1	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 11 - Creole (L1) & Spanish: 1	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 12

Regarding the older adult group, they had an average age of 53 ranging from 38 to 71 years of age. Most of them have completed high school and had a college or a technical degree. They held a variety of jobs such as secretaries, nurses, teachers, tourist guides, and housewives, among others. Most of them declared their ethnicity as Raizal or Islander, while a few gave mixed responses including Caribbean and Colombian as identity markers, in addition to Raizal or Islander. The majority claimed to speak Creole as their native language and Spanish and English as additional languages, even though one of the participants from San Andrés did not declare proficiency in English. All the participants belonged to many different places on the islands, so that different geographical locations were represented.

Table 9 displays the demographic information of Raizal and non-Raizal participants who served as speakers for a linguistic stimuli pool in an experimental and a control condition, respectively. These speakers gave similar responses of ethnicity and language from those who underwent all research procedures; namely, they recognized themselves as Raizal or Islander and declared to speak Creole as their native language, and Spanish and English as additional languages. They belonged to the same age and gender groups as the fully enrolled participants. Most of the young speakers were students at SENA pursuing technical degrees, except for a man who worked as a technical assistant. The older adult speakers were working in different fields such as cultural affairs, offices, supervisors, and technical assistantship.

Non-Raizal participants were selected as speakers of continental varieties of Spanish and North American English who had no contact with Creole speakers and whose places of birth are geographically distant from the Caribbean. These participants were recruited only to include some linguistic stimuli as a control condition in the perception experiment. Four Colombian mainland Spanish speakers (2F, 2M) and four American English speakers (2F, 2M) were included. All non-Raizal participants declared themselves to be English (Americans) or Spanish (Colombians) monolinguals, except for a young Colombian female who declared to be Spanish-French bilingual with some additional knowledge of English. All American English speakers were surveyed in Pittsburgh, PA and all Colombian mainland Spanish speakers were surveyed in Bogotá, Colombia. The young adults had an average age of 24 ranging from 22 to 26 years of age; all of them were engaged in the job market, except for a young male from Colombia who was pursuing a college degree and simultaneously working. The older adults had an average age of 56 ranging from 43 to 69 years of age.

Table 9. Raizal and non-Raizal participants who served as speakers

Place of recording	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Living place/ Place of birth	Occupation	Highest educ. level	Declared Languages
San Andrés	Erin*	F	21	San Luis	Student	High School	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
	Norman	M	18	Flowers Hill	Technical assistant	Technical	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
	Leanora	F	56	Free Town	Cultural affairs	High School	Creole (L1), Span, Eng, & German
	Mathew	M	46	San Luis	Teacher	College	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
Providencia	Belkis	F	23	Rocky Point	Student	High School	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
	Roger	M	19	Old Town	Student	Technical	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
	Otelia	F	41	S. Water Bay	Supervisor	College	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
	Paul	M	46	Bottom House	Technical assistant	Technical	Creole (L1), Span & Eng
Bogotá, Colombia	Kiara	F	26	Bogotá, COL	Professional assistant	College	Spanish (L1) & French
	Roland	M	22	Cundinamarca, COL	Security guard	High school	Spanish
	Priscilla	F	59	Boyacá, COL	Seller/ owner	High school	Spanish
	Simon	M	69	Tolima, COL	Priest/ pastor	College	Spanish
Pittsburgh, US	Julieth	F	23	Wilmington, NC	Bank worker	College	English
	Marvin	M	23	Bryan, TX	Professional assistant	College	English
	Lannie	F	43	Mount Pleasant, PA	Office worker	College	English
	Ned	M	52	Cleveland, OH	Office worker	College	English

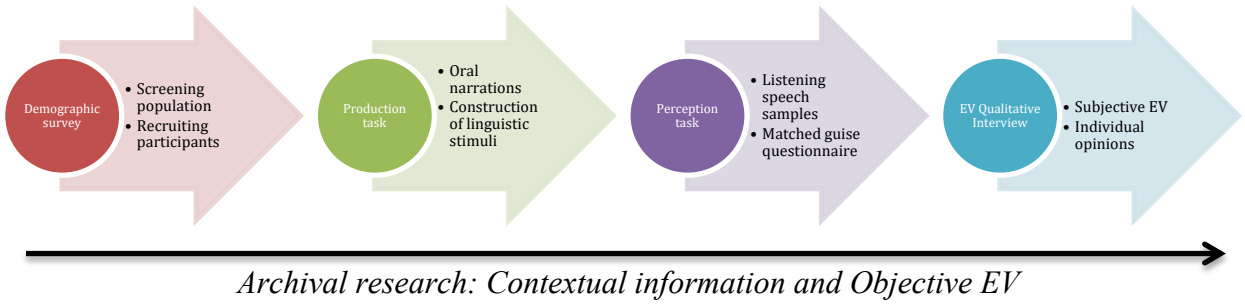
** In this dissertation, all participant names are pseudonyms. I avoided any match with their actual names.*

3.1.2 Procedures

Figure 2 shows a flow chart of the procedures undertaken in the pilot study. In the first stage, I used a short demographic survey to screen the population and recruit a pool of research participants (see Appendix A). The potential participants were asked for personal (name, age, sex, etc.) and contact information (telephone number, email and mail addresses if available), ethnic affiliation, languages spoken, settlement patterns, and about their willingness to be

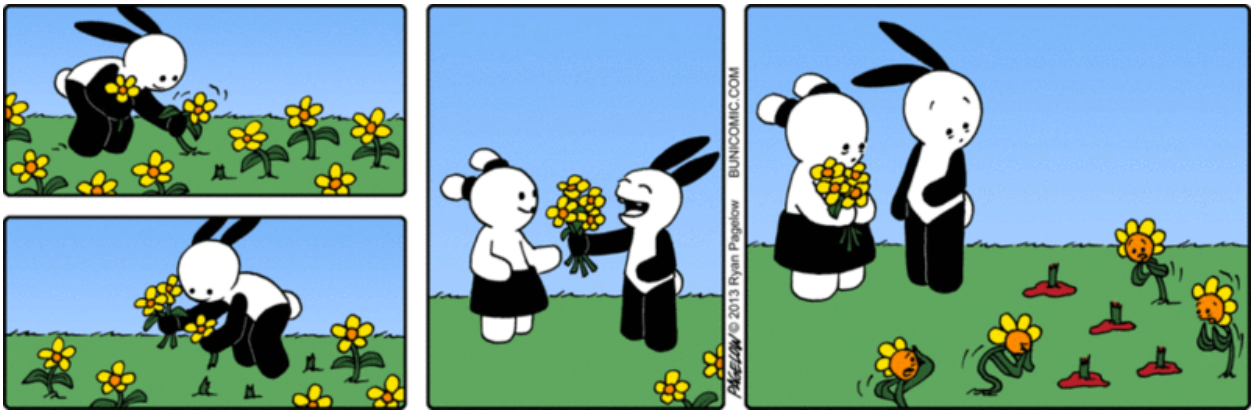
enrolled in the main research procedures. In the same survey, the potential participants also completed a language-use self-report. Those who satisfied the enrollment requirements were recruited on a first-come, first-served basis until I had equal number of males and females and young and older adults within each island enclave. During three weekly individual appointments, the participants completed a production task, a perception task, and an EV qualitative interview. Furthermore, I carried out archival research throughout the whole research process using census data and historical information that I got at local libraries and government offices in both islands. The archival research gave a deeper sense of the ethos of the islands, beyond the previously surveyed scientific reports.

Figure 2. Procedures flow chart for pilot study



3.1.2.1 *Production task*. All participants recruited from San Andrés (14 Raizals) and Providencia (28 Raizals) participated in a production task. The participants were prompted to narrate in Creole, Spanish, and English the story represented in a cartoon shown in Figure 3 (Pagelow, 2013). This cartoon represents a common interaction of a male and a female character without any dialogue. The male character gives the female character some flowers that he cuts by himself from the grass, while the flowers that remain on the grass mourn the loss of their mates. As a moral, the cartoon teaches an ecology lesson that nature needs care and should not be destroyed. The semantic domain of gift-exchanges between males and females and the ecology lesson from the cartoon are universal topics, easily understandable by people from different ages, cultural background, and literacy levels based on the images alone. No significant difficulties were observed when the participants were narrating the story. Following Gooden (2008, pp. 309-310), these prompted narratives can be considered arguably close to spontaneous oral narrations in daily life.

Figure 3. Cartoon used for production task 1



Source: Pagelow (2013) (Used with permission of the copyright holder, www.bunicomic.com)

Given that Labov (1972, p. 208) has shown that the attention paid to speech is a factor in stylistic variation, the task design attempts to reduce speakers' attention to speech (see the speech prompt in Appendix C). Firstly, the cartoon contains only pictures without any dialogues, so it lacks linguistic priming conditions. Secondly, the narration prompt encourages the speakers to narrate in their own words and maintain the communicability of the narrative for potential listeners who would hear the speaker but would not see him/her. Furthermore, the task drives the speakers' attention to the content of their narrative and the message of the cartoon, while the humorous key acted as a distractor. Finally, a short break of two minutes separated the narration in each language; during this break, the researcher talked to the speaker about unrelated topics in order to distract him/her from the narration. For each narration, the researcher emphasized that the narrative must be complete and is intended for new listeners who would not hear the previous narrative. Overall, the task was successful and well received by the participants of different ages, who described it as easy, nice, and didactic.

Once all recordings (three for each participant, one in each language: Creole, Spanish, and English) were available, the researcher selected eight speakers/narrators: two young adults (1F, 1M) and two older adults (1F, 1M) from each island, as previously shown in Table 9. For each of the eight Raizal participants selected, the aim was for the narrative in each language to closely match the others in length, content, and mood. That is, I looked for speakers who were able to tell the same story using closely equivalent words/expressions in each language, with a similar speed, number of words, and mood (equally enthusiastic, creative, or expressive) across

their three language-narrations. I also attempted to have a pool of narratives with the fewest number of hesitations, long pauses, false starts, and incomplete thoughts. The narratives selected served the construction of the linguistic stimuli for the perception task described in the next section, while the remaining corpus was used for further linguistic analysis (see chapter 7).

Furthermore, eight narrators (four native American English speakers and four native Colombian mainland Spanish speakers shown in Table 9) were selected from a smaller pool of non-Raizal participants who completed the production task in English or in Spanish, respectively. Given that Creole languages are often stigmatized as low status and non-standard varieties (Alleyne, 1994, pp. 8-11), the inclusion of these participants was necessary to inquire whether or not the perception of allegedly standard varieties (American English, and Colombian mainland Spanish) makes a difference with respect to the perception of local varieties.

Regarding the narratives of Raizal participants who were not selected as speakers, I performed a preliminary linguistic analysis of their Creole narratives. In the pilot study, the analysis was restricted to three linguistic features that showed a copious presence across the narratives: plural features in determiner phrases, progressive markers, and locative expressions. These three features display variation between alternative choices to convey the same or similar meaning and may index a possible preference for a way of speaking and, probably, a particular ethnic affiliation or linguistic attitude. For example, the Creole marker *dem*, the English suffix *–s/–es* attached to nouns plus some irregular forms, and the Spanish suffix *–s/–es* attached to nouns, adjectives, and determiners plus a few irregular forms may all surface as competing solutions for the expression of plurality in the speech of bilinguals. Thus, alternative ways of conveying plurality were a relevant feature as the languages in contact convey plurality differently and the speakers may display a particular identity based on choice of marker. For example, the speaker may index a stronger Creole identity by using more frequently the Creole marker *dem* than using the suffix *–s/–es*, which is also used in Spanish and English.

Once all tokens of these features were located, they were scored on a three point-scale as follows: 3 points were given to Creole markers reflecting the most conservative Creole grammar patterns (such as the plural marker *dem*); 1 point was given to suffixes (such as the plural suffix *–s/–es*), reflecting the least conservative Creole speech and suggesting a possible influence from English or Spanish; and 2 points were given to hybrid responses that mixed conservative Creole grammar patterns with less conservative patterns. Table 10 summarizes the scoring scale with

classification criteria for each linguistic feature analyzed. For instance, the plural phrase *di bway* ***dem*** 'the boys' scored 3 as the speaker used the Islander Creole plural marker *dem*. *Di bway****s*** 'the boys' scored 1 as the speaker used the suffix *–s* instead of *dem* to index plurality, suggesting that a possible pattern from the lexifier language –English– or a possible influence from Spanish are dominating the structure. Any mixed response, such as *di bway****s dem*** 'the boys' scored 2, as the speaker uses the suffix *–s* in addition to the plural marker *dem*, suggesting a mixture of conservative and less conservative grammatical patterns.

Table 10. Scoring scale for linguistic features on production data

	Score	3 (+ Creole patterns)	2 (mixed patterns)	1 (- Creole patterns)
Plural	Structure	[(Det) + N + dem]	[(Det) + N-s + dem]	[(Det) + N-s]
	Examples	*di bway* ***dem***	*di bway****s dem***	*di bway****s***
	Translation	'the boys'		
Progressive	Structure	[(V_1) + deh + $V_{(2)}$]	[to be + deh + V]	[(to be/V_1) + $V_{(2)}$-ing]
	Examples	*dem* ***deh*** *bliid*	*dem* ***was/were deh*** *bliid*	*dem* ***was/were*** *bleed****ing***
	Translation	'they were bleeding'		
Locative	Structure	[deh]	[$prep_{(loc)}$ + deh]	[($prep_{(loc)}$) + here/there]
	Examples	*di piece a stomp stieh* ***deh***	*di piece a stomp stieh* ***in deh***	*di piece a stomp stieh* ***there***
	Translation	'the piece of stump [that remains from the just cut flowers] stayed there'		

3.1.2.2 *Perception task-matched guise questionnaire*. Following De Vries' (1992, p. 220) and Adone's (2012, pp. 73-77) suggestions about the inclusion of varied and indirect methods for the study of EV and Creole languages, the pilot study also integrated a perception task using a Matched-Guise (MG) questionnaire. Unlike surveys with direct questions, the MG technique provides an indirect assessment of the participants' covert attitudes toward the languages and their speakers (Ihemere, 2006, pp. 195-196). Given the connection between covert attitudes and the subjective EV (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 70), the matched-guise technique is advantageous for EV studies.

For the completion of the task, each participant listened to a series of short narratives (50 to 88 seconds) collected as described in section 3.1.2.1 and completed a questionnaire for each narrative. A few narratives were minimally manipulated using the Praat program (Boersma & Weenink, 2017), so the narratives became more alike. I reduced very long pauses (> 3s), cut stumbling passages, and deleted filler sounds such as *um, uh, ah, e, m* as long as these minimal changes would not distort the actual speech. I also deleted a few expressions that are formulaic of English narratives, such as *once upon a time*, or a particular word that only a given speaker repeated across his/her three narrations, such as *brother rabbit* (English), *breda rabbit* (Creole), *el hermano conejo* (Spanish). In this case, the words *hermano* and *breda* were deleted from the Spanish and Creole narratives. Although the expression *breda rabbit* is emblematic of Creole stories, the presence of these or formulaic expressions would have easily cued the stories as Creole or English, if included.

Table 11 represents the structure of the experiment and Table 12 pictures an example of the experiment for a listener from San Andrés. For the control and experimental conditions, each listener was matched with an American English speaker who narrated the story in English, a Colombian mainland Spanish speaker, who narrated it in Spanish, and a Creole L1 speaker who narrated it three times in a different language: English, Spanish, and Creole, respectively. These speakers and the listener belonged to the same age and gender groups as shown in the example in Table 11. In the experimental condition, three narratives from the same Creole L1 speaker were presented to the listener and each narrative was in a different language: Creole, Spanish, and English. In the control condition, each listener was presented a Spanish narrative from a Colombian mainland Spanish speaker (non-Creole and non-Caribbean) and an English narrative from an American English speaker (non-Creole, non-Caribbean, and non-black). The experimental and control narratives were mixed with filler narratives in different languages (one language for each filler) from Creole L1 speakers who belonged to different age or gender groups from the listener, as shown in the example in Table 12. When doing the experiment, the listeners were instructed to listen to different narratives in different languages and they were not told that some narratives belonged to the same speaker. As shown in Table 13, the experimental, control, and filler stimuli were presented in a different order to each listener, using a Latin Square design (Keppel & Wickens, 2004, pp. 381-393). This design allowed control of carryover effects (training and fatigue) given the systematic order in which the stimuli were presented.

Table 11. Structure of the perception task

Condition	Speakers	Stimuli	Listener
Experimental	1 Creole L1 speaker (same enclave, age, and gender groups from listener)	1 Creole narration	1 Islander listener
		1 Spanish narration	
		1 English narration	
Control	1 American English speaker (same age and gender group from listener)	1 English narration	
	1 Colombian Spanish speaker (same age and gender group from listener)	1 Spanish narration	
Fillers	3 Creole L1 speakers (different age and/or gender group from listener)	1 Creole narration	
		1 Spanish narration	
		1 English narration	

Table 12. Example of experiment structure for a young female listener from San Andrés

Condition	Speakers	Stimuli	Listener
Experimental	*Erin* Female, 21, San Andrés	1 Creole narration	*Amy* F, 30, San Andrés
		1 Spanish narration	
		1 English narration	
Control	*Julieth*, F, 23, Wilmington, NC	1 English narration	
	Kiara, F, 26, Bogotá, COL	1 Spanish narration	
Fillers	*Mathew*, M, 46, San Andrés	1 Creole narration	
	Norman, M, 18, San Andrés	1 Spanish narration	
	Leanora, F, 56, San Andrés	1 English narration	

Table 13. Example of presentation of input to a young female listener in San Andrés

Listener	Speakers							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Amy, F, 30	*Kiara* (*S*)	**Erin (E)**	C	**Erin (S)**	*Julieth* (*E*)	**Erin (C)**	S	E
C = Creole, S = Spanish, E = English, **Bold** = Experimental stimuli, *Italic* = Control stimuli, Regular = Fillers								

Finally, in each narrative the listener rated the speaker and his/her speech on a 4-point Likert scale, using a paper-pen questionnaire with descriptors of accuracy, friendliness, confidence, and the like (see the pilot questionnaire in Appendix F). Likewise, the listeners estimated ethnic and personal features of the speaker, such as gender, age, origin, and language spoken in the excerpt. The response trends were taken as indexes of participants' ideological positioning toward the languages of the context and their speakers.

3.1.2.3 *Ethnolinguistic Vitality Interview*. Based on the Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire (EOQ) used by Hoffman and Walker (2010), I designed an open-ended qualitative EV interview to investigate positional attitudes and ideological stances toward the languages and their speakers, ethnolinguistic identification, and language welfare (see Appendix B). The EV interview included thirty-two closed and open questions organized in five categories as follows: (1) Ethnic Identification and Social Networks, (2) Family, (3) Language, (4) Beliefs, and (5) Rights, discrimination, and language/speakers' welfare. The questions were intended as guiding categories for an open-ended interview in conversational style, so that each of these thirty-two questions included possible follow-up questions to be raised during the interaction. Answers to the main questions were registered on the interview form and the interviews were recorded with a voice recorder, so that full responses were captured. The interview was timed in order to spend no more than 20 minutes in each interview category. The longest interviews lasted about 100 minutes and the shortest, about 40 minutes.

The questions implemented from the EOQ were adapted to the specific context of the islands. A few questions from the Language Use Choice Questionnaire used by Yagmur et al (1999) were also included. Furthermore, the categories listed by John Edwards (1992, p. 50) were used as a checklist to verify that the most important dimensions of language vitality/maintenance were represented in either the main or the possible follow-up questions.

I preferred to design this qualitative EV interview instead of using the traditional SEVQ, given the different problems of the SEVQ discussed in section 2.2.1. Indeed, one of the criticism to the EV theory is that the subjective dimension of EV is taken as a given in the SEVQ, while the SEVQ actually attempts to reduce people's subjective perspectives to a numerical measure. On the contrary, the EV qualitative interview I designed allowed both a numerical measure and a qualitative examination of the participants' answers to the follow-up open questions, which

developed and expanded their opinions. The conversational style of the interview also facilitated a natural-like interaction, enabling a grounded and comprehensive understanding of the subjective EV.

Following Hoffman and Walker (2010), the answers to the main questions were scored from 1 to 3, with 3 being the strongest ethnic orientation to the Creole group, 1 being the weakest orientation to the Creole group, and 2 indicating intermediate positions. For example, answers to the first question *Do you consider yourself as… [mark all applicable]?* were scored as follows: *Raizal* and/or *Islander* scored 3 because they are the most common ethnic self-denominations used by native Creole speakers from the islands. *Caribbean and/or Colombian* scored 1 because these are broader categories that include other people besides Creole speakers from the islands. Any mixed answers scored 2, for example *Raizal and Colombian*, *Islander and Caribbean*, *Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian*, and so on. All possible answers were pre-scored prior to the collection of data (see Appendix B).

This numerical measure is not superior to the SEVQ, but the qualitative component is a clear advantage. Answers to the open questions provided a more in depth understanding of the subjective EV. They also helped me better understand the results from the matched guise questionnaire as the two instruments approached linguistic attitudes and language ideologies differently. The overall results from the EV interview along with the other instruments allowed a multidimensional interpretation of the results and the qualification of the quantitative trends.

3.1.3 Key findings and revised methods

In this section I will briefly sketch some key findings from the pilot study and also how I addressed methodological limitations in preparation for the main study. This section is not an exhaustive report of all results from the pilot study, which are reported alongside the results from the main study in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

In brief, the multidimensional approach proposed in the pilot study was appropriate, though not exhaustive. As stated in the Literature Review, measuring EV brings up two important problems: reliability and the appropriateness of the methods to capture the multiple dimensions of EV. Regarding reliability, while the pilot study was informative, no major predictions can be made beyond this particular case because of the impact of linguistic attitudes

on language use and because EV is relative to the context. Hence, I implemented a standardized measure of EV in the main study. The use of standardized methods produces reliable measures of EV and contributes to a unitized worldwide methodological approach. Regarding the methodological appropriateness to address the complexity of EV, the pilot study revealed that a more refined methodology was needed. The revised methods needed to take into account the subjective component and that would give more relevance to the participants' emic viewpoint and also incorporated more qualitative and integrative approaches.

3.1.3.1 *Limitations on Objective EV*. The analysis of demographic trends from census data (Dane, 2005, 2014) provided objective evidence of unfavorable demographic factors for language maintenance in San Andrés and stable favorable factors for language maintenance in Providencia. This analysis disclosed a significant rate of language shift (23.13%) in San Andrés as compared to a lower rate (5.76%) in Providencia. These percentages correspond to Raizal people (especially young people) who declared they did not to speak Creole and instead have acquired Spanish as their native language. However, these rates were stated from the demographic analysis alone, while none of those who might have shifted to Spanish were recruited given the selection criteria of the pilot study, which targeted fluent Creole speakers. In order to document the predicted shift trend with attitudinal and linguistic data, the main study included 16 new participants who were deemed to be undergoing a process of language shift to Spanish (see section 3.2.1.3).

3.1.3.2 *Limitations on Subjective EV*. The assessment of the subjective EV showed a mixed set of patterns. Firstly, it produced higher EV scores for all participants from Providencia, which is consistent with the demographic factors favoring language maintenance in this island. On the other hand, and contrary to the expectations, the young group from San Andrés scored higher than any other group, which contrasts with the language shift trend in San Andrés.

In general, the youngsters appeared to be very optimistic and positive about their culture and language, while the older adults seemed more critical of the community practices and more aware of the social problems of the islands (e.g. discrimination). It is possible that speakers simply reproduced stereotypical responses intended as appropriate for a non-native researcher. Also, the private setting of the interview might have facilitated the provision of such

stereotypical responses. Therefore, the main study addressed people's opinions and ideological positions in a way that they were publically displayed, discussed, and negotiated. This was done using group and peer interview techniques. The group interview would encourage the confrontation of multiple viewpoints, their negotiation, and perhaps the display of privileged information otherwise undeclared, whereas the peer interview technique would encourage a more natural display of participants' perceptions than what is displayed for a researcher.

Similarly, the analysis of perception data disclosed differential attitudes of the participants toward the stimuli-languages. Using the matched guise questionnaire, the English stimuli received the highest rates in different categories such as intelligence, friendliness, and linguistic accuracy, suggesting that the lexifier language is perceived as a prestigious model language for Creole speakers. The Creole stimuli also received high rates especially from the young adults and the females, given that Creole appeared to have some covert prestige as an identity marker among these groups. On the other hand, both the youngsters and the females gave the lowest rates to the Spanish stimuli, suggesting some negative attitudes toward this language, probably because it might be perceived as a threat for the local language and culture.

Nevertheless, the pilot perception experiment had some issues that made it difficult to reach any conclusive statements. First of all, the adjectives included in the questionnaire did not reflect the native categories used by the participants to perceive and judge the local languages and their speakers. Secondly, each subset of listeners listened to a different experimental speaker: the young adult males listened to a different speaker from the older adult males, and these were different from the experimental speakers listened to by the young and the older adult females. This increaed speaker variability and made the data less comparable across the listener subsets, given the different narrative styles of the speakers and other differences between them. Finally, the 4-point Likert scale and its alignment to a categorical scale of agreement and disagreement was problematic for capturing middle-point responses and sometimes was confusing for the participants, especially when expressing disagreement to items with negative connotations, such as *the speaker sounds inaccurate*. Some listeners attempted to choose 4 (maximum agreement with the statement) when they actually wanted to express that the speaker sounded accurate to them, in which case 1 or 2 (disagreement) were to be chosen.

Therefore, for the main study, the perception study and its MG questionnaire were redone. Rather than setting the researcher's viewpoint, a new procedure was implemented to

capture the participants' emic viewpoint, while a new questionnaire was created using emergent native categories from the participants (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 72; Gaies & Beebe, 1991, p. 167). This is not to say that, once these adjustments were done, the MG technique would provide a neat reflection of the participants' linguistic attitudes. The complexity of these attitudes and other limitations of the MG technique (Gaies & Beebe, 1991; Ihemere, 2006) are more extensively discussed in sections 6.2 and 3.2.2.2, respectively. Nevertheless, the triangulation of this instrument with other techniques enabled a comprehensive understanding of the underlying ideologies behind the different outcomes of EV.

3.1.3.3 *Limitations on the linguistic evidence*. The analysis of production data showed that the participants from San Andrés used more conservative Creole features, such as the plural marker *dem*, the progressive marker *deh*, and the locative *deh,* than those from Providencia. These features were comparatively higher among young adults and females. The participants from Providencia preferred to use less conservative features, such as the suffixes *–s/–es*, *–ing*, auxiliary verbs (*to be, to do*), and the adverbs *here* and *there*, which appeared to be closer to the lexifier language. This result suggested that, in the absence of a significant perceived threat from Spanish, English was targeted as a model language for Creole speech in Providencia. The higher rates of conservative Creole features in San Andrés and among the young adults and females were consistent with their positive attitudes toward Creole as disclosed in the EV interview and the MG questionnaire. Thus, the higher use of conservative Creole features also appeared to be a response to the perceived threat from Spanish, especially from those who have been more exposed to the language shift trend: the young generations from San Andrés.

Although the analysis of this small set of linguistic features was productive, in the main study I collected a larger oral Creole corpus. The larger corpus increased the probability for some other features to surface. For example, Spanish loanwords were more frequent in the larger corpus of the main study, suggesting some possible effects from the threatening language, especially for the Creole-shifting participants. Furthermore, the larger corpus allowed the implementation of more appropriate statistical analyses –such as logistic regression and mixed effects models– based on token frequency and weighted means across speakers. Finally, increasing the size of the corpus was also an opportunity to explore some local genres, such as those described in section 1.2.5.3.

In all, the analysis of some linguistic features, the perceptual judgments of linguistic input, the subjective perspective of participants, and the demographic measures of EV seem to be related but not linearly aligned. The inclusion of both the demographic and the subjective components along with production data has been important for a multidimensional understanding of EV, as suggested by Giles et al (1977) and Abrams et al (2009). Moreover, the EV interview showed some participants' concerns regarding social processes (e.g. land alienation, discrimination) and cultural processes (e.g. changes on traditional activities, beliefs) that were beyond the language itself. The youngsters not only declared a positive position toward the local values, but they also appeared to be actively resisting the shifting process by promoting conservative Creole features in their own speech.

Consequently, the refinements implemented in the main study targeted a more comprehensive understanding of EV in the specific ecology of the islands, as shown in the next section. For example, I analyzed the objective language shift trend that threatens the local language, but I also took into account the participants' emotional attachment to the local language and culture, some possible motivations for language shift, and a complex set of language ideologies. Although these refinements do not exhaust all possible dimensions of EV, addressing them in the main study was instrumental to gain a deeper understanding of EV in the islands.

3.2 MAIN STUDY

The previous section disclosed some methodological limitations of the pilot study. The present section aims to describe the methodological refinements implemented in order to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the Creole EV in the islands. The main study emphasized the subjective EV, reshaped some of the methods, and expanded the investigation using new methodological tools and including more research participants. First, I will briefly describe the pool of research participants. Then, I will describe the research procedures used in the three analytical components of this dissertation: (1) the objective EV, (2) the subjective EV, and (3) the linguistic evidence.

3.2.1 Participants

A total of 259 participants were recruited for the main study; 24 of them were re-recruited from the pilot study. As shown in Figure 4, there was a subset of 195 people, both Raizals and Continental-Colombians, who only took part in the discussion groups but did not undergo the main research procedures. There was also a subset of 31 Raizal people who only participated in the main research procedures but did not participate in a discussion group, and there was another subset of 33 Raizal people who participated both in the main research procedures and in the discussion groups.

Figure 4. Research participants in the main study

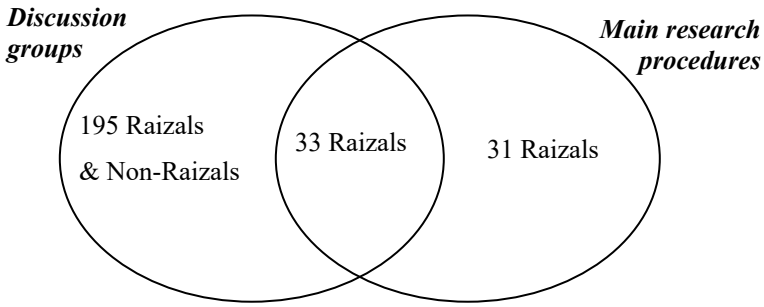


Table 14 displays the subsets of participants in each island enclave. There were two equal size groups of 24 fluent Creole L1 speakers who participated in the main research procedures in each island. Moreover, a group of 16 Raizals (12 from San Andrés and 4 from Providencia), less fluent Creole speakers, who were in the process of language shift or who had already shifted to Spanish as their primary language, also participated in the main research. Maps 2 and 3 display the different geographical locations of both fluent Creole-speaking and Creole-shifting participants.

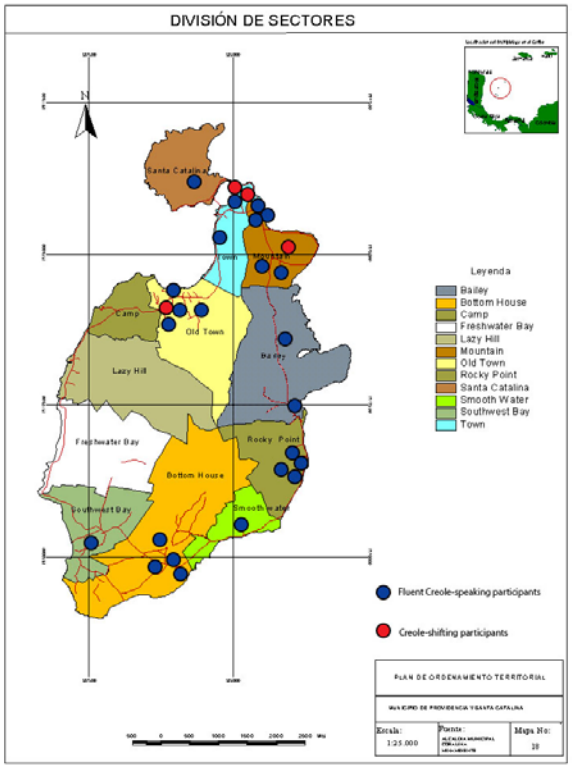
Table 14. Participant subsets in the main study

	San Andrés	Providencia	Total
Discussion groups*	129	66	195
Fluent Creole L1 participants	24	24	48
Creole-shifting participants	12	4	16
Total	165	94	259

**For the sake of clarity, 33 participants from the discussion groups were not included in this count, as they were already counted in the other two groups.*

Map 2. Fully enrolled participants in San Andrés

Map 3. Fully enrolled participants in Providencia



Sources: CORALINA. Map 2-San Andrés (left). CORALINA and Municipio de Providencia. Map 3-Providencia (right). (Used with permission of the copyright holder: http://www.coralina.gov.co/coralina/en/)

3.2.1.1 *Participants of discussion groups*. There were 228 people who participated in one of the discussion groups. Table 15 summarizes the basic demographic information of 195 of those who only participated in this activity but were not enrolled in further research procedures. The majority of them were females and older adults born before 1985 in both islands. In San Andrés, 100 out of 129 people declared to be Raizal (64), Islander (21) or combined these identifiers (15), but only 72 had a traditional title (surname) from the islands. The remaining participants declared to be Continental Colombians (23) or combined this denomination with Raizal and/or Islander (6). Among these 129 participants, 50 people declared to be Spanish monolinguals, which contrasts with 2 Creole monolinguals, and 77 people who declared some form of bilingualism. In Providencia, a majority of 62 out of 66 participants declared to be Raizal (33), Islander (9), or combined these ethnic denominations (20). Indeed, 63 of them had a traditional title from the islands. The remaining 4 participants declared to be Continental Colombians (3) or combined this denomination with Islander (1). Most of the participants declared to be Spanish, English, and Creole trilinguals (38) or have other forms of bilingualism (17), while a few participants declared to be Creole (8), Spanish (2), or English (1) monolinguals.

Table 15. Demographics of participants from the discussion groups

	San Andrés	Providencia
Gender	82F, 47M	56F, 10M
Age	$\bar{X} = 36$ Range: 18-83 Born before 1985: 76 Born in/after 1985: 53	$\bar{X} = 43$ Range: 18-89 Born before 1985: 46 Born in/after 1985: 20
Ethnicity	Raizal: 64 Islander: 21 Raizal & Islander: 15 Continental Colombian: 23 Raizal, Islander, & Continental: 3 Islander & Continental: 2 Raizal & Continental: 1	Raizal: 33 Islander: 9 Raizal & Islander: 20 Continental Colombian: 3 Islander & Continental: 1
Languages	Creole: 2 Spanish: 50 Creole, Spanish, & English: 54 Creole & Spanish: 16 Creole & English: 3 Spanish & English: 4	Creole: 8 Spanish: 2 English: 1 Creole, Spanish, & English: 38 Creole & Spanish: 7 Creole & English: 6 Spanish & English: 4

3.2.1.2 *Fluent Creole L1 speaking participants*. Participants from this group were selected using the same enrollment criteria of the pilot study. The most important criterion was that the person selected identifies him/herself as a native Creole speaker and that his/her language-use self report suggests he/she frequently uses the Creole language for daily activities. These participants were also organized in two age groups of the same size (born before and in/after 1985) producing four equal size subsets, with equal number of males and females in a totally balanced design, as displayed in Table 16.

Table 16. Fluent Creole-speaking participants in the main study

	Enclaves	San Andrés	Providencia
Age groups	Born in/after 1985	12 Young Adults (6F, 6M)	12 Young Adults (6F, 6M)
	Born before 1985	12 Older Adults (6F, 6M)	12 Older Adults (6F, 6M)

Table 17 summarizes the demographic information from these participants. Most of their demographic features were similar to those from the pilot study. The young adults had an average age of 24 (range: 18-31), while the older adults had an average age of 54 (range: 38-72). All participants declared Creole as their mother tongue and almost all of them declared Spanish and English as additional languages, except for two youngsters from Providencia who declared no proficiency in English. Most of the participants from San Andrés chose Raizal as their best ethnic identifier, while these responses were more diverse in Providencia, including Raizal, Islander, and mixed responses that combined these categories with other identifiers such as Caribbean and Colombian. The traditional Raizal titles (surnames) most represented in this group were Archbold and Livingston with 5 cases each, Williams with 4 cases, Robinson and Jay with 3 cases, Steele, Martinez, Kelly, Pomare, Barker, and Huffington with 2 cases, and a bunch of other 16 traditional titles with 1 case. The different locations of these participants were shown in Maps 2 and 3 above.

Table 17. Demographics of fluent Creole-speaking participants

Groups	San Andrés		Providencia	
	Young adults	Older adults	Young adults	Older adults
Gender	6F, 6M	6F, 6M	6F, 6M	6F, 6M
Age	$\bar{X}$ = 24; Range: 19-31	$\bar{X}$ = 54; Range: 38-68	$\bar{X}$ = 24; Range: 18-30	$\bar{X}$ = 54; Range: 41-72
Neighborhood / Geographical section	- San Luis: 2 - Cove: 2 - Rock Hole: 2 - The Hill: 1 - Barrack: 1 - Orange Hill: 1 - Perry Hill: 1 - El Bight: 1 - Town: 1	- San Luis: 7 - Cove: 1 - Barrack: 1 - Orange Hill: 1 - Perry Hill: 1 - Town: 1	- Rocky Point: 4 - Old Town: 2 - Southwest Bay: 1 - Bottom House: 1 - S. Water Bay: 1 - Bailey: 1 - Newly Dawns: 1 - San Juan: 1	- Bottom House: 3 - Old Town: 2 - Newly Dawns: 2 - The Mountain: 2 - Santa Catalina: 1 - Town: 1 - Bailey: 1
Occupation	- Student: 6 - Technical assistant: 4 - Secretary: 1 - Tourist affairs: 1	- Secretary: 2 - Tourist affairs: 2 - Retired: 2 - Technical assistant: 1 - Nurse: 1 - Janitor: 1 - Teacher: 1 - Home stay: 1 - Seller/owner: 1	- Student: 4 - Technical assistant: 2 - Office work: 2 - Teacher: 2 - Messenger: 1 - Security guard: 1	- Secretary: 2 - Home stay: 2 - Fisher: 1 - Technical assistant: 1 - Cultural affairs: 1 - Tourist guide: 1 - Teacher: 1 - Seller/ owner: 1 - Messenger: 1 - Priest/pastor: 1
Highest educational level	- Elementary school: 1 - High school: 6 - College or technical: 5	- Elementary school: 1 - High school: 6 - College or technical: 5	- Elementary school: 1 - High school: 6 - College or technical: 5	- Elementary school: 2 - College or technical: 10
Declared ethnicity	- Raizal: 10 - Raizal and Islander: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian: 1	- Raizal: 10 - Islander: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian: 1	- Raizal: 7 - Raizal and Islander: 3 - Islander: 2	- Raizal: 5 - Islander: 4 - Raizal, Islander, and Colombian: 1 - Raizal, Islander, and Caribbean: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, and Colombian: 1
Languages spoken	- Creole (L1), Spanish & English: 12	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 12	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 10 - Creole (L1) & Spanish: 2	- Creole (L1), Spanish, & English: 12

3.2.1.3 *Creole-shifting participants*. Participants from this group were selected using the following criteria: (1) the participant is born in one of the islands, (2) at least one of his/her parents is a Creole speaker born in one of the islands, (3) the participant recognizes him/herself as Raizal or Islander, (4) the participant claim Spanish as his/her most frequently spoken language in the language-use self-report or some limited proficiency in the Creole language. There were no excluding criteria regarding gender, age (other than being at least 18 years old), or life abroad experience, and there was no attempt to form equal size subsets.

Table 18 summarizes the demographic information from these participants. There were 12 participants (8F, 4M) from San Andrés and 4 participants (3F, 1M) from Providencia. Those from San Andrés had an average age of 33 ranging from 19 to 51 years of age, while those from Providencia were younger with an average age of 27, ranging from 25 to 28 years of age. Most of the participants from San Andrés lived in Hispanic dominant geographical sections such as El Cocal, Town, and Natania, even though there was an important number of four participants living in San Luis and one living in Perry Hill. In Providencia, three of the participants lived relatively close to the administrative center of the island, but the island as a whole, including these locations, is dominantly Raizal. The participants' geographical locations were displayed on maps 2 and 3.

Regarding ethnicity, half of the participants from San Andrés chose Raizal or Islander as exclusive ethnic identifiers, while the other half mixed these labels with other identifiers, such as Caribbean and Colombian. This trend contrasts with fluent Creole speakers who mostly chose Raizal or Islander as their best ethnic markers. The traditional titles most represented in this group were James with 3 cases, Hooker and Taylor with 2 cases each, and a bunch of other 9 traditional titles with 1 case. Although there was a majority of participants (11/16) who declared to speak Creole, Spanish, and English, this proportion was lower than fluent Creole speakers (46/48) declaring the same. There were also an important number of participants from both islands (7 from San Andrés and 3 from Providencia) who had reached a technical or a college degree. A further analysis of the demographic information showed that a similar number of participants have lived outside of the islands, usually for the purpose of working or pursuing a higher educational degree.

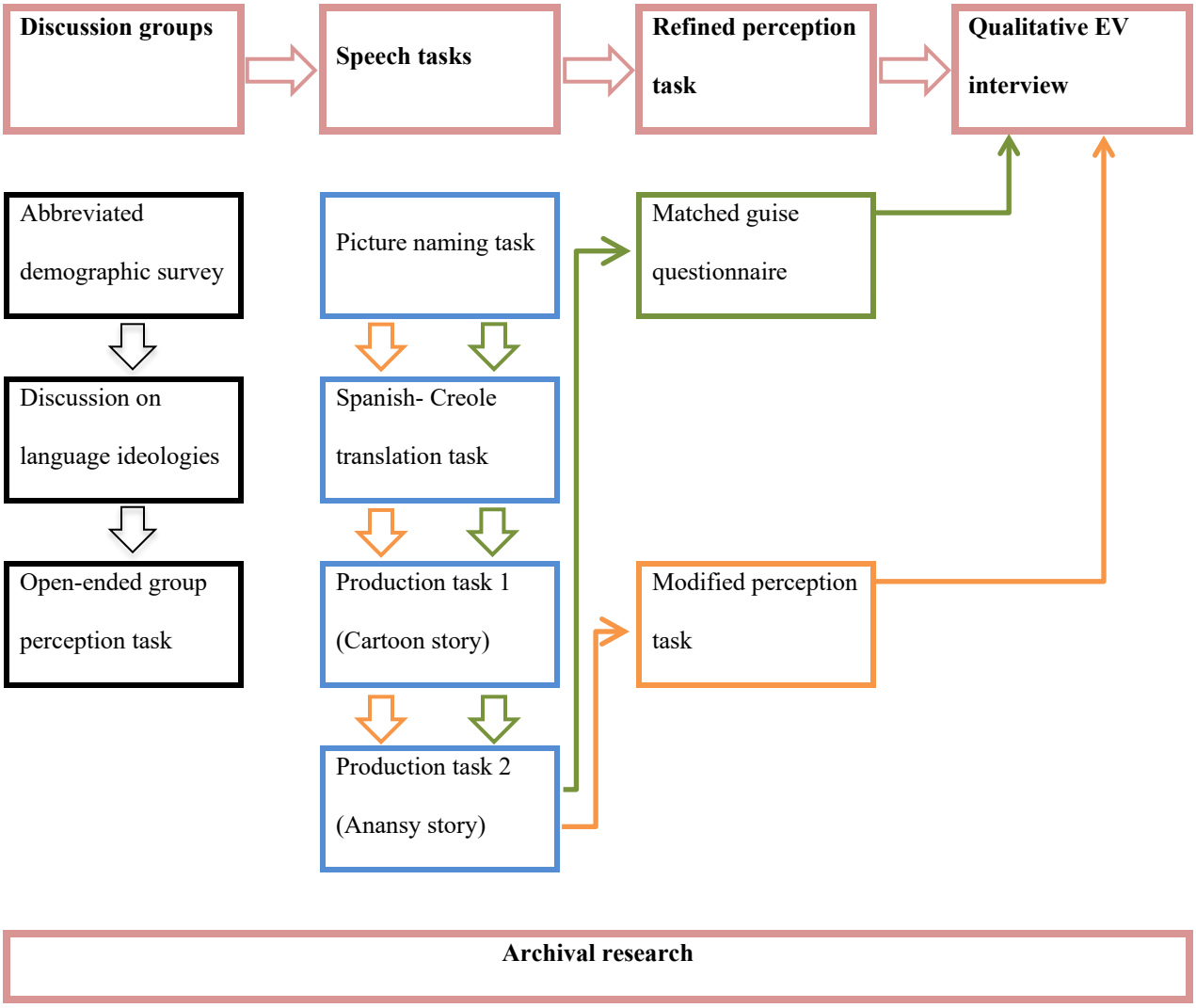
Table 18. Demographics of Creole-shifting participants

	San Andrés	Providencia
Gender	8F, 4M	3F, 1M
Age	$\bar{X}$ = 33 Range: 19-51	$\bar{X}$ = 27; Range: 25-28
Neighborhood/ geographical location	- San Luis: 4 - El Cocal: 3 - Town: 3 - Natania: 1 - Perry Hill: 1	- San Juan: 2 - Old Town: 1 - The Mountain: 1
Occupation	- Office work: 3 - Technical assistant: 3 - Student: 1 - Janitor: 1 - Waitress: 1 - Teacher: 1 - Home stay: 1 - Unemployed: 1	- Office work: 2 - Teacher: 1 - Self-employed: 1
Highest educational level	- Elementary school: 1 - High school: 4 - College or technical: 7	- High school: 1 - College or technical: 3
Declared ethnicity	- Raizal: 5 - Raizal and Islander: 1 - Raizal and/or Islander, & Colombian: 2 - Raizal, Islander, & Caribbean: 1 - Raizal, Islander, Caribbean, & Colombian: 3	- Raizal: 3 - Raizal and/or Islander, & Colombian: 1
Languages spoken	- Creole, Spanish, & English: 8 - Creole & Spanish: 3 - Spanish: 1	- Creole, Spanish, & English: 3 - Creole & Spanish: 1

3.2.2 Procedures

Figure 5 shows a flow chart of the procedures undertaken in the main study. In the first stage, I organized several discussion groups in different institutions and Raizal families. Upon completing an abbreviated demographic survey, the participants discussed different questions based on a broad range of participants' concerns emerging from the EV interview in the pilot study. The participants also completed an open-ended group perception task, and the results were used to redo the perception experiment. In the second stage, the participants completed a series

Figure 5. Procedures flow chart for main study



of speech tasks. A picture-naming task and a Spanish-Creole translation task aimed to obtain some linguistic evidence of a potential language shift process from the Creole-shifting participants; for comparative purposes, the fluent Creole speakers also completed these tasks. The production tasks 1 and 2 aimed to collect a larger Creole corpus from the fluent Creole speakers; for comparative purposes, Creole-shifting participants were also asked to complete

these tasks. In the third stage, the fluent Creole speakers completed a refined perception task, which was built using information obtained in the discussion groups. The Creole-shifting participants completed a simplified open-ended version of the perception task. In the fourth and final stage, both fluent and shifting-Creole participants completed the qualitative EV interview described in the pilot study (see section 3.1.2.3). For most of the surveys, the participants were given the choice of selecting the language of survey, either English or Spanish, and my interaction with them was also done in either of these two languages, even though I always approached them in English in the first encounter. Besides the surveys, I also conducted archival research as noted above.

Rather than going through each research stage, I will frame the description of these procedures in the main analytical categories of this dissertation: (1) Objective EV: Archival Research; (2) Subjective EV: discussion groups, the perception experiment, and the qualitative EV interview; and (3) Linguistic evidence: Speech tasks. This will simplify the description and facilitate the presentation of the dissertation results in chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

3.2.2.1 *Objective EV procedures*. The archival research in the pilot study was informative for the objective demographic factors leading to different outcomes of vitality: language maintenance in Providencia and language shift in the young generations from San Andrés. However, I pointed out the misalignment of those factors with the positive attitudes and higher use of conservative Creole features among the youngsters surveyed in the pilot study. Given the contextual dependence of those results, I also pointed out that the use of standardized scales of EV is needed in order to produce reliable results that can be compared across other contexts. Therefore, in the main study I incorporated the endangerment level scale and the need for documentation scale used by Campbell, L. et al (n.d.) for the *Catalogue of the Endangered Languages of the World* (http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/about/). As stated by the authors, the construction of this catalogue is in progress but it has produced attested results in the documentation of endangered languages.

The endangerment scale required the assessment of four dimensions (intergenerational transmission, absolute number of speakers, speaker number trends, and language use domains) in six levels of endangerment from 0 through 5. For the computation of the score, possible points were assigned in each dimension and weighted by the level of certainty of the available

information, producing a percentage that indicates the level of endangerment.[10] The application of this scale was based on the available demographic information from different censuses (Dane, 2005, 2014).

The documentation scale assesses the availability of information of the language based on three document-types: grammar, dictionary, and corpus. Different scores were assigned to each document-type, which were weighted by criteria of accessibility-level, quality, and extension. Grammar weighted twice as much as dictionaries, which were weighted twice as much as corpora.

For the assessment of this scale, I carried out some archival research at two local libraries: Banco de la República in San Andrés, and The Mountain in Providencia. Upon completion of fieldwork, I also conducted some archival research at external libraries, such as Luis Ángel Arango in Bogotá, Colombia, the West Indies Collection at the University of the West Indies-Mona in Kingston, Jamaica, and at the University of Pittsburgh. Most of the archival research was oriented to finding Creole grammars, Creole dictionaries, and oral and written corpora in Creole. This research was complemented with some materials I owned or received as donations. Using an online survey, I also inquired about the existence, nature, and extension of any materials previously collected by some researchers who have worked on Islander Creole (see a paper version of the survey for Researchers of Creole in Appendix M). Finally, the archival research also provided me with valuable information, related, for example, to the Jamaican and Caribbean connections to the islands.

Although the endangerment and the documentation need scales produced reliable measures of the objective Creole EV, they are not exhaustive and need to be complemented with the other components of EV discussed in this dissertation. The application of the documentation scale was important to be aware of the extent of the Creole corpus and how much of the language can be available to the public. Moreover, this information can be worthwhile for the development of educational and advocacy processes. However, the scale is not necessarily a strong predictor of EV, given that the availability of the documentation does not guarantee its use among Creole speakers. In line with Campbell, L. et al. (n.d.), the scale scores are "only rough guides" that would need a further analysis of the use of the available documentation in the islands.

[10] See both the Endangerment Level and the Documentation Need scales (Campbell et al, n.d.) here.

3.2.2.2 *Subjective EV procedures*. Discussion groups were implemented as a tool to deepen understanding of the participants' perspectives and as a strategy to overcome the limitations of the EV interview and the perception experiment discovered in the pilot study. Several 1-to-2-hour discussion sessions were developed in two types of settings: (1) churches and educational institutions, such as SENA, Universidad Nacional, INFOTEP, and schools, usually with large numbers of people attending and (2) small groups of Raizal families or friends, usually with two or three people attending. In the small groups, I raised a range of 9 to 12 questions, which were discussed by the participants and me in a conversational style. I limited my participation to raising the questions, inquiring about the participants' opinions, and requesting clarification when needed. In larger groups from churches and educational institutions, the participants formed smaller groups (2 to 6 people), and discussed a range of 1 to 3 different questions per group. Once the participants discussed the questions, each subgroup presented their answers/opinions to the larger assembly, so that the discussion was expanded and enriched with other subgroups' opinions. All discussion sessions were videotaped.

As shown in Table 19, there were a total of 31 discussion sessions (this is the number of meetings), 65 discussion groups (including subgroups from sessions with large numbers of participants), and a total of 228 people who took part in this activity. Given that these were preexisting groups: classmates, workpairs, churchgoers, there were both Raizal and non-Raizal participants, especially in San Andrés. Based on the participants' preference, the discussions were conducted in English or in Spanish, but most of them were bilingual going back and forth between these languages. Rather than being a limitation, these factors enriched the intersubjective nature of the activity, encouraged the negotiation of different perspectives, and were illuminating of the different ideologies circulating in the islands.

Table 19. Discussion groups

	San Andrés	Providencia	Total
Discussion sessions	17	14	31
Discussion groups	40	25	65
Participants	149	79	228

Table 20 displays the set of nineteen questions used in the discussion sessions. Given that language ideologies are often related to larger social issues, the questions belonged to four categories: language, education, culture, and society, covering a broad range of participants' opinions and concerns earlier noticed in the EV interview from the pilot study. I allowed the participants to choose the questions of their preference and varied the set of eligible questions for each discussion session and each group, so that all questions were discussed several times. The questions most frequently chosen disclose the outstanding concerns of the participants. Questions #2 *Are the Creoles spoken in San Andrés and Providencia the same?* and #11 *What does Raizal mean?* were the most discussed questions with 16 replies each, followed by questions #7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 16, with 15 replies each. Most of these questions related to concerns about education, the political conflicts between Colombia and Nicaragua over the islands, and cultural traits such as the African heritage and the meaning of the term *islander*. Overall, the information collected was huge and amounted to an independent research of its own. The variety and qualitative nature of the data enriched the subjective perspective pursued in the main study and provided a grounded view on the local ideologies.

- Refining the perception experiment

Once the participants answered the discussion questions in each discussion session, they completed an open-ended perception task. The goal of this activity was to feed into a refined perception experiment with emic categories emerging from the participants' answers to an open survey. The participants listened to two or three narratives in different languages from the pool of narratives used in the pilot study. I tried to include narratives from both Raizal and non-Raizal narrators and present both a Spanish narrative and a Creole or an English narrative, even though this was not always possible. In the end, all narratives from the sixteen narrators used in the pilot study were heard at least once across all discussion sessions in each island. The participants from each group filled out an open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix G) that prompted the participants to describe the speaker, his/her narrative, and his/her speech. Given that all questions were open and the participants were encouraged to share their perspectives and use their own words, they had the opportunity to discuss and negotiate their answers in group.

Table 20. Discussion topics and questions

Topic	Questions	Replies		
		S. And	Prov	Total
Language	1. Are Creole and English the same? Are they different? How are they different or similar?	5	8	13
	2. Are the Creoles spoken in San Andrés and Providencia the same? What are their differences?	7	9	16
	3. Are there any differences in Creole speech depending on the geographical sections? How do they speak? (e.g. The Hill vs San Luis vs North End (S. Andrés); Bottom House vs Newly Dawns (Prov.))	4	6	10
	4. Do Raizal people have different skin color? Do Raizal people of different skin color speak the same way? Explain	5	5	10
	5. Who speak more frequently the Creole language? The youngsters? The adults? The elders?	5	6	11
	6. Do Raizal people use Spanish words when speaking Creole? Why? What do you think about this? Give some examples and explain.	6	6	12
Education	7. Should Creole be taught in schools? Why yes? Why not? Explain	7	8	15
	8. Should Creole be written at all? Who can teach writing the Creole? How different it would be writing in Creole from writing in English or in Spanish?	7	8	15
	9. Would you want no Raizal people to learn Creole? Why yes? Why not? Explain	8	7	15
	10. Should Raizal people have its own educational system and teach their culture and traditions in schools?	9	6	15
Culture	11. What does Raizal mean?	5	11	16
	12. What does Islander mean?	5	10	15
	13. What is the African heritage in the Islands? Describe and explain	6	9	15
	14. What is the British heritage in the Islands? Describe and explain	5	8	13
	15. How have the Raizal traditions changed due to the Colombianization of the islands? Explain	8	4	12
Society	16. Are the conflicts between Colombia and Nicaragua important for San Andrés and Providencia? How do they affect the islands? What do the Raizals want in this respect?	8	7	15
	17. How tourism has affected the islands?	7	4	11
	18. Do the Raizal people still suffer discrimination in any way?	6	7	13
	19. Does Racism still persist in the islands? Why? Explain	5	5	10
	Total	118	134	252

For the analysis of the open-ended perception task, I grouped the participants' responses according to their semantic similarity. For example, the categories *analytic, observer, reflexive, detailed, thinker* as responses to question #1, *In your own words, how would you describe this person?* and #8 *How would you describe his/her personality based on how he/she speaks?* formed a response-group. Then, I counted raw frequencies of each term and decided whether the

most frequent term could be considered representative of the rest or if it combined better with another term. In this example, *analytic* was more frequent than the other terms and they have similar meanings, so I kept *Analytic* as a category to be included in a refined MG survey. This strategy allowed me to exclude many overlapping categories, as there were 53 response-groups.

For each response-group, I decided whether it can be considered gradual or categorical. When gradual, I looked for an opposite term in the pool of responses or decided if it can be better inferred from the term that surfaced, for example *analytic vs non-analytic.* The categories related to physical appearance were easy to group, for example *black* with 32 responses versus *white* with 25 responses, while the categories related to psychological traits were harder, such as *analytic* vs *non-analytic*. The process was not straightforward and sometimes I had to decide on the inclusion and exclusion of overlapping terms, which could have been grouped in alternative ways and produce a different outcome. I also had to reach practical decisions, such as including an on- or an off-category. For example, when talking about narrators of Hispanic descendent, *Colombian* and *Continental* were more frequent categories on-record, but *paña* was overwhelmingly used off-record. In this case, I decided to include *paña*. I also had to get the assistance of native consultants for the best translation of terms obtained firstly in Spanish, such as *cabello rucho*, in which case *kinky hair* was indicated as the best local term.

Table 21 shows an example of a group of gradual terms on the left and a group of categorical terms on the right. Raw frequencies of each term are also indicated in brackets. There were many local categories that I had to exclude given their low frequencies and the selective nature of this process, for example *mototaxista* and *taxista* '(motorbike) taxi driver' (4), *maga* 'thin' (3), *gay* or *gay voice* (2), *launch driver* (1), *works in a hotel* (1), *goes to a bilingual school* (1), *goes to church* (1), *crabit* 'makes a scandal of everything' (1), *AMEN member* (1), *sounds like reading* (1). The final outcome of this process was a new MG questionnaire that was used in a refined perception experiment (see Appendix H). This procedure included locally relevant categories (Gaies & Beebe, 1991: 167, Campbell-Kibler, 2006: 72) as the terms chosen for the questionnaire can be considered reflective of the emic perspectives of the participants.

Table 21. Example of group responses from open perception task in-group

Gradual term		Categorical term
Analytic vs Non-analytic (54 responses)		*Islander Raizal* (71 responses)
- Analytic: 13	- Detailed: 3	- Raizal: 31
- Intelligent: 8	- Pensador 'thinker': 3	- Islander: 29
- Descriptive: 7	- Reflexive: 3	- Real raizal: 3
- Not analytic: 6	- Reasonable: 1	- Creole blood person: 3
- Observer: 5	- Meticuloso 'meticulous': 1	- Complete/full Raizal: 2
- Piensa bien lo que va a decir: 4; 'he/she thinks well what he/she is going to say'		- Native raizal: 2 - Proud Raizal: 1

❖ Implementing a refined perception experiment

Figure 6 shows the structure of the refined perception experiment, portraying several variations with respect to the pilot study. From the pool of speakers used in the pilot study, I only included two Creole L1 speakers in the experimental condition: Erin (San Andrés) and Belkis (Providencia), and only two speakers in the control condition: Julieth (American English speaker) and Kiara (mainland Colombian Spanish speaker). All of them were young females with fluent narrations and similar narrative style, narrative length, and expressive language, which are mutually comparable, as summarized in Table 22. Following Van Gompel, Arai, and Pearson (2012, p. 396), I included the number of words per unit of time as a numerical measure of fluency: the speakers produced between 2 and 3 words per second. These changes increased the power of the experiment and helped reduce the speaker's variability, which has been a concern about MG studies (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 64). The remaining Creole L1 speakers were used as filler voices, while narratives from other non-Raizal narrators were discarded.

Figure 6. Experiment structure in refined perception task

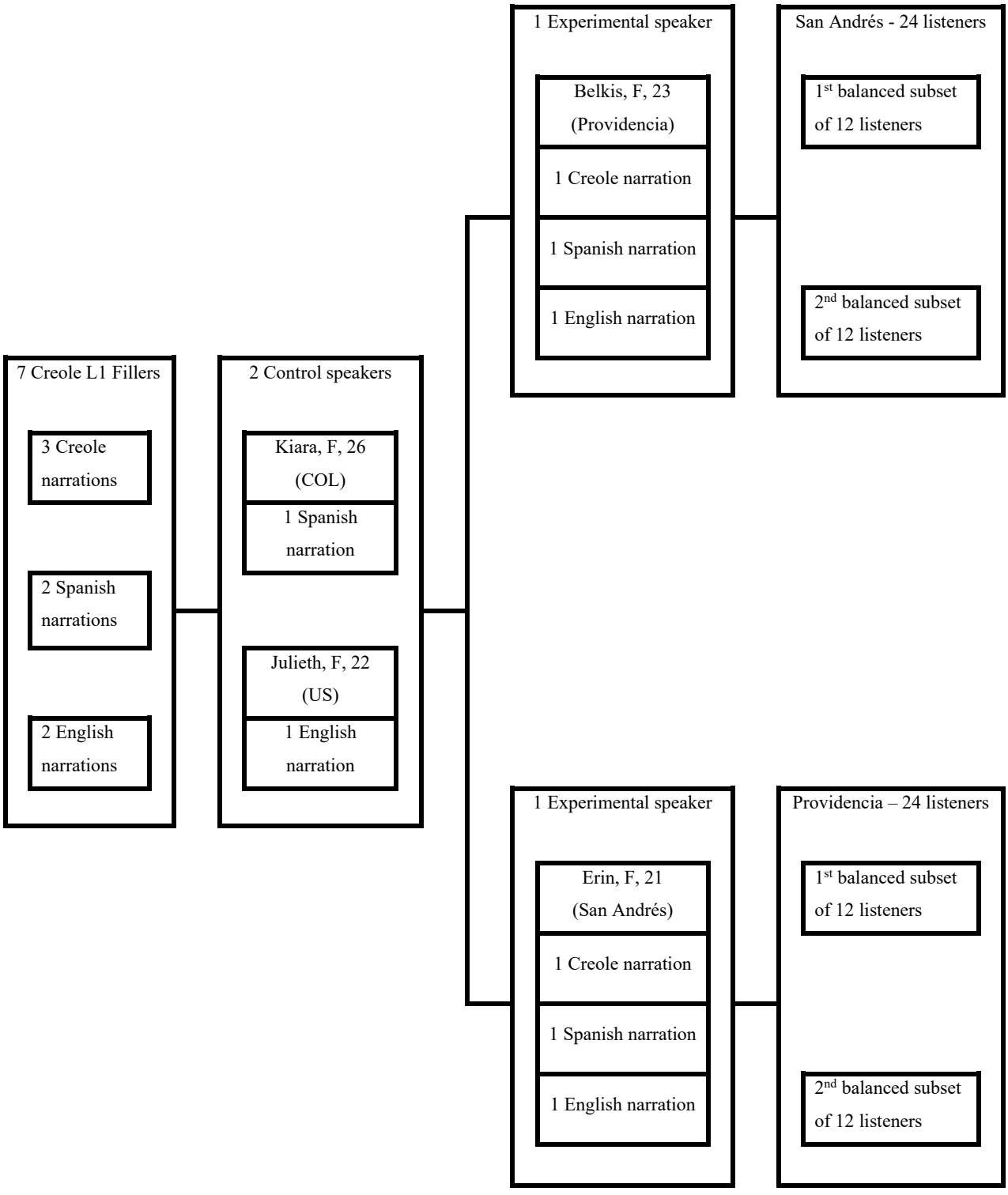


Table 22. Speakers' narrative length, duration, and fluency

Speaker / Language narration	Creole	Spanish	English
Erin, F, 21 – San Andrés	199 words/73 seconds **2.72 w/s**	174 words/80 seconds **2.18 w/s**	199 words/80 seconds **2.49 w/s**
Belkis, F, 23 – Providencia	276 words/88 seconds **3.14 w/s**	167 words/73 seconds **2.29 w/s**	213 words/75 seconds **2.84 w/s**
Kiara, F, 26 – Bogotá, COL		189 words/74 seconds **2.55 w/s**	
Julieth, F, 23 – Wilmington, NC			105 words/50 seconds **2.1 w/s**

Secondly, the stimuli pool included a total of 12 narratives: 3 experimental, 2 control, and 7 fillers. There were more female (8) than male voices (4), but the number of narratives in each language was exactly the same: 4 Creole, 4 Spanish, and 4 English. The inclusion of seven filler narratives from Creole L1 speakers both from San Andrés and from Providencia allowed larger intervals between the experimental narratives, as there were always three narratives between experimental narratives. Finally, the listener and the experimental speaker belonged to a different island enclave, so that the listeners from San Andrés listened to Belkis (from Providencia), while the listeners from Providencia listened to Erin (from San Andrés). This helped avoid the speaker being identified by the listener, given that some speakers, especially women, appeared to be well known in some geographical sections of their respective island.

Finally, in each island there were two subsets of twelve listeners; these were the 48 fluent Creole-speaking participants described in 3.2.1.2. On a first-come, first-served basis, each participant was assigned a listening position until I formed two totally balanced subsets with the same number of males and females, and young and older adults in each subset. As an example, Table 23 shows the listening positions and stimuli-sequence for the first balanced subset of 12 listeners from San Andrés. Similar to the pilot study, the experimental, control, and filler stimuli were presented in a different order to each listener, using a Latin Square design (Keppel & Wickens, 2004). Recall that there were two of these balanced subsets in each island, listening to the same stimuli sequence and, therefore, there were two listeners in each listening position per island. These modifications increased the power of the experiment, allowing multiple comparisons and control of carryover effects.

Table 23. Listener positions and stimuli sequence for a subset of listeners from San Andrés

Listener	Stimuli-sequence											
Alice F, 27	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C
Becky F, 23	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S
Georgianna F, 48	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**
Haley F, 38	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C
Wilson M, 67	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)
Oliver M, 19	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E
Philip M, 25	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**
Loraine F, 56	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S
Felisha, F, 19	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)
Sheldon, M, 20	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**	C
Anthony, M, 64	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E	**Belkis (S)**
Vincent M, 57	**Belkis (S)**	C	*Julieth* (*E*)	S	**Belkis (C)**	E	*Kiara* (*S*)	C	**Belkis (E)**	S	C	E

C = Creole, S = Spanish, E = English, **Bold** = Experimental stimuli, *Italic* = Control stimuli, Regular = Fillers

For each of the twelve narratives, each listener filled a paper-pen MG questionnaire (see Appendix H). This questionnaire was constructed using emic categories emerging from the open perception task completed in the discussion groups, as discussed in the previous point. This locally oriented questionnaire has three sections: (1) a 6-point Likert scale with a set of gradual categories, (2) a list of optional categorical terms that the listener could tick based on his/her free associations to the speaker, and (3) a set of three questions about the possible origin of the speaker, the language spoken in the excerpt, and whether or not the listener recognized the speaker's voice. This last question was included given that in the pilot study some listeners claimed having recognized the speaker's voice at times and they were sometimes right. Although

the episodes of correct identification of a speaker's voice were uncommon and only happened when the listeners were listening to speakers of their same island, this new question allows control of a possible effect of the listener having rated a voice that sounded familiar to him/her. In order to avoid some possible ordering effects, the items from the first and second sections of the survey were randomized twelve times, so each participant from each subset completed a survey with a different order of items.

Altogether, the modifications implemented delivered a significantly refined perception experiment. Namely, the implementation of the discussion group technique was productive to unearth a copious number of local intertwined categories and these categories fed into the new locally designed MG questionnaire. For this procedure, I followed Cambell-Kibler's (2007, p. 35) work on the Southern and 'gay' accents in the US. The other changes helped reduce speakers' variability and other confounding variables.

However, there is still a number of limitations on the MG technique that are not easy to overcome in a single study and must be acknowledged. First of all, as Gaies and Bebee (1991, p. 165), Campbell-Kibler (2006, p. 82), and Ihemere (2006, p. 196) have pointed out, it is not easy to conclude what exactly triggers the rates that the listeners assigned to the speakers. Although the same speakers were narrating the same story in different languages, it might be that different factors other than the languages motivated the listener's rates, such as the speaker's narrative performance or small content-differences.

Secondly, the control of content (i.e. using the same story for each guise) brings the additional risk of inadequacy for one or some of the guises (Ihemere, 2006, p. 196). For example, *storytelling* is a culturally relevant practice among Creole speakers but it might be less significant for them when narrating in Spanish or in English. Although the educational system has introduced narratives in Spanish and in English, it might be that the listeners have paid attention to different features in each language-narrative, for example the speaker's narrative performance in Creole but grammar and vocabulary in English. The instructions and the questionnaire, however, addressed the listener's attention to the same aspects in each narrative.

Finally, the experimental nature of the MG technique ties to the problem of artificiality (Ihemere, 2006, p. 196). Given that I aimed at ethnicity and (non-) standardness as major factors (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 72), I privileged the inclusion of whole self-contained discourse units (the narratives) and kept digital manipulation to the minimum. Nevertheless, these decisions do

not solve the artificiality problem. Thus, one can listen to one or two different stories and that is a natural situation, but listening to the same story over and over is not natural; filling out a survey to assess a narrative might be a school situation but not a daily life situation. I tried to keep a balance between the naturalness of the discourse and the artificiality of experimental designs.

These are important limitations, which are in part intrinsic to the MG technique. However, the triangulation of this technique with the discussion groups and the EV interview counterbalanced its limitations, and contributed to the general soundness of the investigation, and provided a grounded view on the subjective EV, which is one of the goals of this dissertation.

- A modified perception task for Creole-shifting participants

The perception task just described targets fluent Creole speakers who are able to speak and understand the Creole language. Therefore, its application would be useless among Creole-shifting participants, who declared limited use of the Creole language and were presumably shifting or had already shifted to Spanish as their preferred language. Therefore, I implemented a modified version of the perception task for the Creole-shifting participants (see Appendix I). First, I played only one Creole narrative either from Belkis (for listeners from San Andrés) or from Erin (for listeners from Providencia). Then, I prompted the listener to explain the content of the recording in detail and asked him/her similar questions to those raised in the open perception task completed in the discussion groups. The interview was developed in Spanish and the responses were used to qualify the reception skills of the shifting participants.

- The qualitative EV interview

The participants from both the Creole-shifting group and the fluent Creole-speaking group answered to the qualitative EV interview described in the pilot study (see section 3.1.2.3). Table 24 shows the questions assessed in each of the five dimensions of the interview. These questions were presented in a different order to the speakers in order to avoid the answers to some questions having an influence on the answers to other questions next to them. The results from this interview were informative about the participants' motivations to use or not to use a

language, such as family ties, social networks, travel abroad, among other possible motives on language use and their perceptions of EV. The triangulation of these results with those from the discussion groups and the refined perception experiment have enabled a grounded interpretation of the subjective EV, which overcome the limitations that the EV interview would have if standing alone.

Table 24. Questions assessed in each EV dimension

1. ETHNICITY	**2. FAMILY**	**3. LANGUAGE**	**4. BELIEFS**	**5. RIGHTS**
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 21	16a, 16b, 16c, 16d	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17	18, 19, 20	22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32
These questions were presented to the participants in a different order in order to avoid the influence of the answers to some questions on the answers to other questions (see Appendix B).				

3.2.2.3 *Procedures to collect the linguistic evidence*. Unlike the pilot study, in the main study I implemented a series of speech tasks to collect some possible linguistic evidence of the Creole EV. As shown in Table 25, there were four speech tasks of increasing complexity: (1) a Picture-naming task, (2) a Spanish-Creole sentence translation task, (3) a Creole Production task 1 (cartoon narration), and (4) a Creole Production task 2 (Anansy story). The first and second tasks related to basic knowledge of the Creole language at the lexical and sentential levels, while the third and fourth tasks were more complex and requested that the participants use the language with specific communicative ends, higher discourse demands, and some possible integration of cultural knowledge.

Table 25. Speech tasks

Level	Task	Target group	Comparison group
Lexical	Picture-naming task	Creole-shifting participants	Fluent Creole-speaking participants
Sentential	Spanish-Creole translation		
Discourse	Production task 1 (Cartoon narration)	Fluent Creole-speaking participants	Creole-shifting participants
	Production task 2 (Anansy story)		

Both fluent Creole speakers and Creole-shifting participants were prompted to complete all speech tasks. The picture-naming task and the Spanish-Creole sentence translation task targeted the Creole-shifting participants' knowledge of the Creole language, assuming that if they were undergoing a language shift process or had already shifted to Spanish, there would be some vocabulary gaps and other possible evidence of language attrition. For comparative purposes, all fluent Creole-speaking participants also completed these tasks, even though they might have found them too easy. Production tasks 1 and 2 targeted fluent Creole speakers' use of the language, assuming that they would be able to fulfill higher discourse demands in their declared L1 (Creole). For comparative purposes, all Creole-shifting participants were prompted to complete these tasks, even though they might have been too complex for them and, in fact, some of them were unable to complete them.

The picture-naming task assessed lexical retrieval of Creole words. The task targeted the knowledge of Creole words of presumable African origin (Bartens, 2003, pp. 137-166; Dittmann, 1992: 98-101; Jay Edwards, 1970: 139-144), words of English origin (Jay Edwards et al., 1975, p. 312), some of them allegedly coming from the Colonial British English from the 17th and 18th centuries (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 138-139), words that presumably derived from African-English convergences (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 101-103), and words that have been described as influenced or borrowed from Spanish (Jay Edwards, 1970, pp. 247-261). I used the *Glossary: US English to Creole & Creole to US English* (Mitchell & Morren, 2000) as a reference for the contemporary Creole of the islands and, therefore, some words that were reported in the above sources but did not appear in the Glossary were not included in the task. I also used the *Dictionary of Caribbean English usage* (Allsopp, 1996) to check on Caribbean English. The lexical entries attested covered a significant part of the Swadesh list and included different

lexical domains such as kinship terms, body parts, objects, animals, and events (see the target words in Appendix J).

There was a main deck of 66 cards targeting 80 words (52 experimental and 28 fillers) presented in a random fashion and there was a deck of five extra-cards targeting 8 training words that were displayed in a fixed sequence before the main deck. There were some cards picturing events, in which verbs were expected as responses, and there were some cards picturing objects, kinship terms, body-parts, gestures, and expressions, in which names and adjectives were expected. I designed two types of cards: (1) a card-type that pictured a unique event, object or expression and (2) a card-type that pictured groups of things or object-parts;[11] this explains the difference between the number of cards and the number of words. For the completion of the task, the deck of 66 cards was randomized 24 times and the participants from both the fluent Creole-speaking group and the Creole-shifting group were presented one of these randomized orders on a first-come, first-served basis. Participants were first oriented to the task/trained and then were prompted to say twice the name of the picture represented in each card. The participants' responses were recorded with a voice recorder.

The translation task assessed the participants' abilities to produce Creole utterances at the sentence level. The participants were prompted to translate orally ten short sentences from Spanish into Creole and all responses were recorded. The ten Spanish sentences included a variety of structural arrangements, targeting the use of several available structural resources of the Creole language. There were present, past, and future tense sentences, negative sentences, sentences with adverbs, adjectives, and singular and plural determiner phrases. The sentences were organized in a progressive fashion from the simplest and shortest to the most complex and longest, so that Creole-shifting participants of variable performance levels enjoyed the opportunity to translate the easiest sentences first.

Regarding the production tasks 1 and 2, the participants were prompted to complete the same Cartoon narration described in 3.1.2.1 only in Creole (production task 1). As a new production task (#2), the participants were prompted to narrate in Creole any *Anansy* story they wanted to tell. The integration of this method in the main study was important because it demanded some cultural knowledge of the participant and the results might be an indication of

[11] See a sample picture here.

how actively these oral traditions are used in the islands. Given the possibility that the participants would not remember or know a specific Anansy story, I provided them when necessary with a reminder of ten story-titles based on Anansy stories collected by Pochet (2008) in the islands (see the speech prompt for production task 2 in Appendix D).

An alternative instrument was also implemented for those who, upon the provision of such a list, did not know/remember any *Anansy* stories. A two-minute silent video clip labeled *The strange creature* (Campbel, Diorio, Johnston, McKelvey, Pascoe, 2008), was played and the participants were prompted to narrate in their own words what they have watched. The video, which is available online,[12] contains background music but has no dialogue, so it lacks linguistic priming conditions, except for the English title displayed on the screen and a few unclear background voices at the beginning. The video pictures a little boy who appears to be a drummer in a stereotypical rural setting surrounded by huts. The boy is forced by his mom to work in the bush. While explaining his chores, the mom is devoured by a strange creature. By the art of his drumming, the boy is able to rescue his mom, who appears to be very grateful and pleased with him. The content of the video and the morals of cleverness and gratitude are easily understandable by people of different ages and literacy levels.

In the corpus of oral stories, I analyzed linguistic features using mixed-effects models as implemented in R-brul (Johnson, 2009). The models included linguistic variables (contexts of the dependent), social variables (e.g. gender, age, island), and genre (story 1-cartoon narration vs story 2-Anansy story), while the participant was set as a random factor. The linguistic analysis was initially oriented to a broad range of linguistic features that have been documented as common of many Creoles of the world (Holm, 2012, p. 257) and especially to those identified as characteristic of Caribbean Creoles (Schneider, 2012, pp. 490-491). Grammatical descriptions and research papers on neighboring Creoles were used as a guide, for example Gooden (2002, 2008), McWhorter (1997), Migge (1995), and Holm (1984). For Islander Creole, I followed the grammatical descriptions of Bartens (2003), O'Flynn (1990), and Washabaugh (1974, 1977). Nevertheless, the core analysis was constrained to the linguistic features that emerged as sociolinguistically relevant and statistically prominent in the corpus.

[12] Watch *The Strange Creature* on *Youtube* (here).

4.0 CHAPTER 4: OBJECTIVE EV

Chapters 1, 2, and 3 set the contextual, theoretical, and methodological foundations of this dissertation. This chapter presents the results on the objective EV, which pursues an answer to the first research question: What is the objective EV of the Creole language from the islands? In order to answer the question, I used two standardized scales: (1) the Endangerment level scale and (2) the Documentation need scale. As discussed in chapter 3, these scales are valuable methods for a reliable analysis of EV in different situations (Campbell, L. et al., n.d.). For the analysis of the Endangerment level scale, I used census and population registers as primary sources of information. For the Documentation need scale, I used grammars, dictionaries and lexical related documents, written Creole corpora, and oral Creole texts that have been digitized, such as voice recordings and albums. Both census and corpora substantiate the objective EV because the information obtained does not relate to a particular subject's opinions but to the community or the Creole materials in general. Although objective and subjective EV operate with different types of information, they complement each other.

4.1 ENDANGERMENT LEVEL SCALE

As described in Chapter 3, the Endangerment level scale assesses the endangerment level of a language in four dimensions: absolute number of speakers, intergenerational transmission, speaker number trends, and language use domains (for more details, see section 3.2.2.1). I display the endangerment level scale for both islands in Table 26 and then expand the description for the first three dimensions, given the absence of demographic information for the last one. In this analysis, I will use the available demographic information from the islands (Dane, 2005, 2014) and follow criteria from similar studies elsewhere (Norris, 2004).

Table 26. Endangerment level scale

	San Andrés		Providencia	
	Description	Score	Description	Score
Absolute number of speakers	15,613 (Dane, 2005)	1/5	3,417 (Dane, 2005)	2/5
Intergenerational transmission (Score range: Certain)	- A majority of females of child-bearing age (15 through 49 years old) speak Creole: 4,133/5,019 (81.75%) (Dane, 2005). - Some Raizal children aging 5-14 years old are Creole speakers: 3,179/4,685 (67.85%) (Dane, 2005).	4/10 (2X2)	- Most females of child-bearing age (15 through 49 years old) speak Creole: 902/942 (95.75%) (Dane, 2005). - Most Raizal children aging 5-14 years old are Creole speakers: 734/762 (96.33%) (Dane, 2005).	2/10 (1X2)
Speaker number trends (Score range: Certain)	- A majority of members of the ethnic group speak Creole but the number of speakers is gradually diminishing. - Language shift rate: 23.13% (Dane, 2005).	2/5	- Most members of the ethnic group are Creole speakers. Speaker numbers are diminishing, but at a slow rate. - Language shift rate: 5.76% (Dane, 2005).	1/5
Domains of language use (Score range: Fairly certain)	Creole is used in all domains, except official ones; it shares usage with Spanish in social domains (e.g. workplace, leisure, home). Nearly all speakers value their language and are positive about using it. Education and literacy in Creole are available (e.g. First Baptist School), but only valued by some. There is some institutional support for the use of Creole (e.g. literacy process, mass media). Dittmann (2013, pp. 312-313) Morren (2001)	0/0	Creole is used in non-official domains; it shares usage with Spanish in social domains. Most value their language but some do not. Education and literacy programs in Creole are rarely embraced by the community. The local government has no explicit policy regarding the Creole language, even though there are explicit policies from the national government and some institutional support to Creole at the regional level (e.g. TV channel: *Teleislas*) (Abouchaar et al., 2002, pp. 68, 76)	0/0
Endangerment level / Total score	**Threatened** Score range: Mostly certain	**7/20**	**Vulnerable** Score range: Mostly certain	**5/20**

For comparative purposes, I will briefly cite other EV scales and discuss the Ethnologue's (Simons & Fennig, 2017) descriptions of the Creole EV. For example, Ethnologue classifies Islander Creole as vigorous (State 6a)[13] as it is "used for face-to-face communication by all generations" in a sustainable way. That statement needs to be revised with an understanding of the possible threats from the contact with Spanish and the differential demographics from both islands. These conditions seem particularly overwhelming in San Andrés Island, where 80% (15,404 out of 19,100) of Raizals live (Dane, 2014, p. 30). I hypothesized that Creole would display greater EV in Providencia than in San Andrés, given the presumably favorable demographic conditions of the former. That is, in Providencia nearly 90% of people identify as Raizal, a group that is also Creole speaking.

4.1.1 Population size and the geographical space

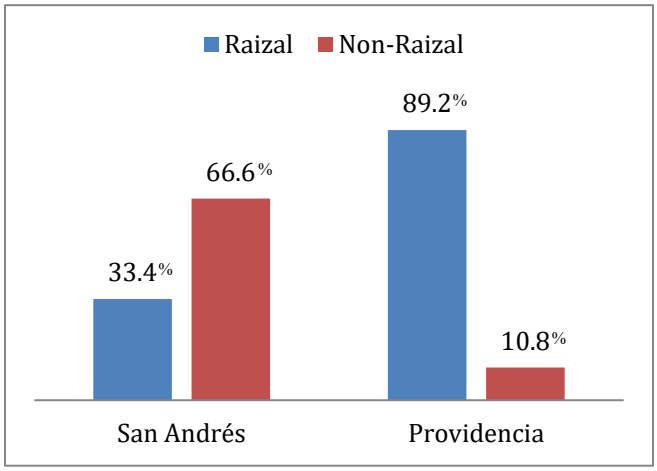
As discussed in Chapter 1, Islander Creole had some early exposure to Spanish due to the conflicts between the Spanish and the British regimes disputing the possession of the islands. However, Creole was relatively isolated from Spanish until Colombia inherited the islands in 1822 and escalated its actions of sovereignty in the early twentieth century. The presence of Spanish on the islands has been substantial since 1953, when the Colombian government declared San Andrés as a free port, which increased immigration, urbanization, and the tourism industry in this island on a large scale. These facts triggered not only the dissemination of Spanish in the islands but also the redistribution of the social resources and the reorganization of the geographical space, which previously belonged mainly to Raizal inhabitants. Providencia, which was not covered by the Free Port Status, was only indirectly affected with these processes.

Figure 7 contrasts the current Raizal and non-Raizal populations from both islands. The figure shows that Raizals are currently a minority in San Andrés with 33.4% of the total population (15,404 out of 46,186), but they are still the majority in Providencia, with 89.2% of the total (3,696 out of 4,144). Non-Raizal populations correspond to immigrants living on the islands. The majority of them are from the Colombian mainland, while only a few (1.5% in San Andrés and 0.3% in Providencia) belong to other ethnic groups such as indigenous, gypsy, and

[13] For a full understanding of the Ethnologue's scale, see http://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/icr

palenqueros[14] (Dane, 2014, pp. 30). This means that Spanish is the first language for the majority of people in San Andrés.

Figure 7. San Andrés and Providencia populations in 2013



	San Andrés	Providencia	Total
Raizal	15,404	3,696	19,100
Non-Raizal	30,782	448	1,230
Total	46,186	4,144	20,330

Moreover, the Register of Population from the Islands shows an anomalous decrease of 9,806 people in the overall population from 2005 to 2013 (Dane, 2014, p. 73). As a possible explanation, they estimated significant rates of elusion for non-native inhabitants who did not answer the survey presumably because, without having legal residency in the islands, they were afraid of being deported or have other legal actions taken against them. The official estimates of census-omission (Dane, 2014, p. 73) for non-native people are about 38.9%, which corresponds to 8,893 immigrants. Native Raizal islanders I interviewed in San Andrés think that the island is overpopulated and estimate a much higher omission of up to 33,814 people (73% of the total population surveyed).

Roberts (2000, pp. 257-259, 264) and Singler (2006, pp. 345-347) have shown that the distinction between native and non-native populations is important to trace immigration patterns along with patterns of language transmission and Creole nativization. Based on Dane (2014, p. 31), Table 27 distinguishes non-Raizal inhabitants born in the islands from those born elsewhere.

[14] Palenqueros are speakers of Palenquero (Schwegler, 1996, 2012), a Spanish-based Creole from San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia. Given their small numbers, no influence on San Andrés and Providencia is expected.

The information about non-Raizal descendants born in the islands suggests their progressive establishment in the islands, while the information on those born outside of the islands indicates immigration contiguity. Out of 46,186 inhabitants from San Andrés, 30,336 were born in the island. Of them, 15,404 are Raizals and 14,932 are not. This indicates a similar population size for native Raizals (15,404), non-Raizal islanders (14,932), and immigrants born elsewhere (14,473). Regarding Providencia Island, 3,536 out of 4,144 inhabitants were born in the island. This gives a lower immigration rate as compared to San Andrés and indicates that at least 160 of all 3,696 reported as Raizals were not born in the island.

Table 27. Place of birth by island enclave

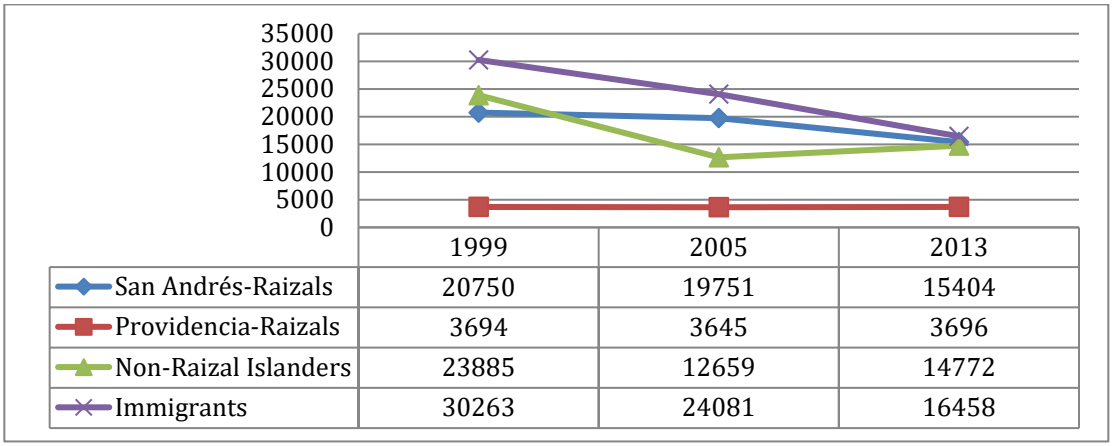
	San Andrés	Providencia
Born in the islands	30,336	3,536
Born elsewhere	14,473	531
No report	1,377	77
Raizal inhabitants	15,404	3,696
Difference [Born in the islands – Raizal inhabitants]	14,932 non-Raizals born in the Island	-160 Raizals born outside of the Island

Overall, these numbers indicate a higher immigration rate in San Andrés favoring an increasing presence of Spanish first language speakers. Providencia, on the other hand, has a lower immigration rate, depicting Spanish first language speakers as a small group. Given that the census (Dane, 2005) did not seek ethnic group/language for those who declared themselves not to be Raizal, Palenquero, Rom, or Indigenous, any possible contribution of immigrants to Creole transmission is not seen in the census data (see section 4.1.2. for the census questions).

These immigration trends need to be understood across time. Figure 8 depicts population growth rate for immigrants, non-Raizals, and Raizals from both islands in 1999, 2005 and 2013. Except for Providencia and non-Raizal islanders, the figure shows an overall decreasing trend for both immigrants and Raizals. These data may underestimate population growth given the difficulties of gathering information in the last Population Register. However, part of the immigration decrease is explained by a growth of non-Raizals born in the island between 2005 and 2013. These are immigrants' children who equally contribute to the strengthening and

diffusion of Spanish. On the other hand, new Colombian policies from the 90's (Presidencia de la República, 2001, 1991) discourage migration and establish legal mechanisms to protect the islands and control overpopulation.

Figure 8. Population growth in three time periods



	1999	2005	2013
San Andrés-Raizals	20750	19751	15404
Providencia-Raizals	3694	3645	3696
Non-Raizal Islanders	23885	12659	14772
Immigrants	30263	24081	16458

The impact of immigration can be seen on the geographical distribution of the populations. Table 28 shows means of Raizal and non-Raizal populations in Hispanic-dominant and traditionally Raizal neighborhoods in San Andrés. Most of the Raizal people are clustered in traditional Raizal neighborhoods, as in San Luis, Cove, and The Hills. On the other hand, Spanish first language speakers appear to spread everywhere, even though the majority of them are in Hispanic-dominant sectors, which are commercial neighborhoods and shantytowns in the north. Indeed, some of the Raizals I interviewed complained about having been displaced from these places. The participants also stated their dislike for Town, described as crowded and noisy, and especially for the shantytowns, described as poor, risky, and dangerous. These territorial controversies are consistent with Enciso's report (2004b, pp. 26-29, 34), whose participants also complained about having lost part of their land, being displaced, and experiencing a growing insecurity. In terms of EV, the distribution of the geographical space by ethnic group reflects the trends of the languages in the landscape. Thus, while Spanish is growing, spreading, and being spoken everywhere, either as L1 or L2, Islander Creole has become a minority language, spoken mainly in traditional neighborhoods. This also has impact on the participants' perceptions of EV (see section 5.5.1.2) and on ideologies of interethnic relationships (see section 6.1.2.1).

Table 28. Means of Raizal and non-Raizal populations in Traditional and Hispanic districts

	Traditional neighborhoods (Raizal dominant)	Town and shantytowns (Hispanic dominant)
Raizal	120.44	34.67
Non-Raizal	63.21	72.98

The situation is very different in Providencia. Being the major population, Raizals are dominant in each geographical sector. There is no radical separation of the geographical space according to ethnic group and the few non-Raizal inhabitants become easily integrated into the community, usually by exogamous marriage with Raizals. In terms of EV, the absence of a contentious competition for the geographical space seemingly favors the vitality of the ethnic group and its native language. Spanish, on the other hand, does not currently appear as a threat for Islander Creole, even though the majority of Raizals speak it as their L2. This also has impact on the participants' perceptions of EV (see section 5.5.1.2) and on the ideologies of interethnic relationships (see section 6.1.2.6). Overall, the demographic conditions and the distribution of the geographical space suggest that, with a small number of speakers, Creole is more robust in Providencia whereas this language is at least threatened in San Andrés, in spite of the fact of having a larger number of Creole speakers than Providencia.

4.1.2 Birth rates and language transmission

The comparison of birth rates for Creole and Spanish first language speakers is instructive as it shows what language is growing, assuming that children acquire their mother tongue. Using the indirect method of William Brass as implemented by Dane (2014, p. 32), I computed the ratio of young children (aging 0 to 4) and women of child-bearing age (aging 15 to 49) by first language speaking group. Based on the census data from both islands (Dane, 2014, p. 102), the analysis included only Spanish and Creole first language groups, so that Indigenous and Rom first language speakers were excluded.

In Table 29 the leftmost panel shows a total of 2,064 young children by 8,276 Hispanic women of child-bearing age compared to 1,286 young children by 4,113 Raizal women of child-bearing age in San Andrés. In Providencia, the table shows a total of 6 children by 104 Hispanic women of child-bearing age against 296 children by 956 Raizal women of child-bearing age in

the right panel. For Raizal women, the analysis produces a steady rate of 2.76 and 2.74 children in San Andrés and Providencia, respectively. Hispanic women, on the other hand, reached a birth rate of 2.25 and 0.55 children in San Andrés and Providencia, respectively.

Table 29. Birth rate per women of child-bearing age by ethnic group by island enclave

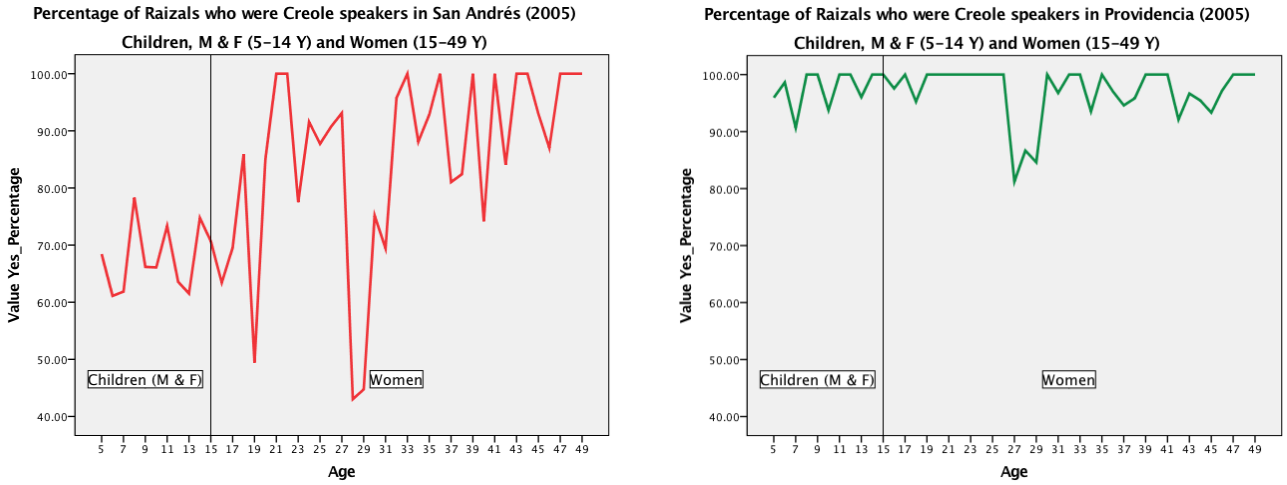
	San Andrés			Providencia		
	Children (0-4 Y)	Women (15-49 Y)	Birth rate	Children (0-4 Y)	Women (15-49 Y)	Birth rate
Hispanic	2,064	8,276	2.25	6	104	0.55
Raizal	1,286	4,113	2.76	296	956	2.74

There were higher birth rates in the Raizal ethnic group, even though the number of Raizal women of child-bearing age (4,133) was significantly lower than the number of Hispanic women of the same age (8,276) in San Andrés. The lower birth rates in the Hispanic group are the result of a larger number of women of child-bearing age as compared to a lower number of children, such as 6 Hispanic children (ages 0 to 4) versus 104 Hispanic women (ages 15-49) in Providencia. This suggests that an important part of a survey of Hispanic women in both islands is recent immigrants who have not given birth in the islands recently.

One would expect that the higher birth rates among the Raizal women would result in proportional rates of language transmission of Islander Creole at home; however, the census information from 2005 (Dane) indicate otherwise. Figure 9 shows the percentage of Raizal people who were Creole speakers in 2005. The figure pictures a clear contrast between San Andrés (left panel-red line) and Providencia (right panel-green line) by age (X-axis). In Providencia, there were higher percentages of Creole speakers (above 95%) for both children (734/762, 96.33%) and women of child-bearing age (902/942, 95.75%). These numbers indicate a continuous language transmission at a considerably high rate in Providencia.

In San Andrés, there were lower percentages of Creole speakers for both children (3,179/4,685, 67.85%) and women of child-bearing age (4,133/5,019, 81.75%). Thus, assuming that these children were born to some of these women, the language was not transmitted to them in at least 13.9% of the cases. These numbers suggest a progressive break of language transmission at home, which may pose a serious threat for Creole in San Andrés. Indeed, the percentage of children who were Creole speakers in San Andrés was always below 80%, which is an indication of the break of language transmission to the new generations in this island.

Figure 9. Percentage of Raizal children and women who were Creole speakers in 2005



4.1.3 Language use and language shift

The last Population Register (Dane, 2014) did not report data for language use. It included a question for Spanish and English literacy, which is something different from language use. Moreover, they collapsed this information for all ethnic groups in each enclave. That information is useless for the purposes of contrasting language use between the enclaves across ethnic groups. Therefore, I estimated the language shift rate by calculating how many Raizals who speak Spanish do not speak Creole, as based on the answers to following three questions from the national census made in 2005 (Dane, 2005):

- *De acuerdo con su CULTURA, PUEBLO o RASGOS FÍSICOS* (sic)*, … es o se reconoce como:*
  ___ *Raizal del Archipiélago de San Andrés y Providencia* (among other options provided)
  'according to your culture, ethnic group or physical traits, are you or do you recognize yourself as:
  ___ Raizal from the Archipielago of San Andrés and Providencia' (among other options provided)
- *Habla la lengua de su pueblo?* Sí ___ No ___
  'Do you speak the language of your ethnic group? Yes ___ No ___'
- *¿Cuáles de los siguientes idiomas habla:*
  ___ *Español (Castellano)?* (among other options provided)
  'Which of the following languages do you speak:
  ___ Spanish (Castillian)?' (among other options provided)

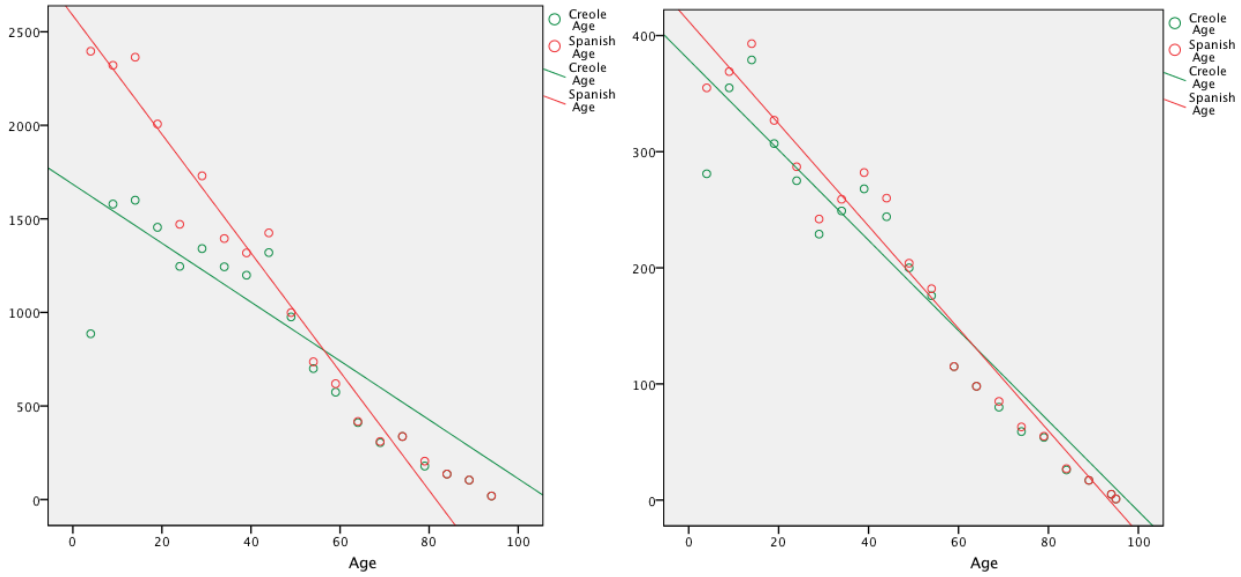
By crossing the answers to the three questions indicated above, the estimate gives a better indication of the number of native people who had failed to acquire the Creole language and, instead, had acquired Spanish only. Table 30 shows that 23.13% of Raizal people (4,700 out of 20,313) who spoke Spanish in San Andrés did not speak Creole in the year of 2005. Thus, these people had not acquired the native language in San Andrés and had shifted to Spanish. Given that a quarter of the Raizal population in this island had shifted to Spanish, these numbers suggest that the steady birth rates do not guarantee language transmission. On the contrary, the lack of language transmission discussed in the previous section suggests that Creole is at risk of an increasing shifting process in the near future in San Andrés. In Providencia, 209 out of 3,626 Raizal people who spoke Spanish did not speak Creole. Thus, 5.76% of Raizals had not acquired Creole and had shifted to Spanish. Although this rate was lower than in San Andrés, it is also an indicator of an ongoing language shift process in Providencia, perhaps in its early stages.

Table 30. Number of Creole and Spanish Raizal speakers by enclave (Dane, 2005)

	San Andrés	Providencia
Spanish	20,313	3,626
Creole	15,613	3,417
Difference [Spanish-Creole]	4,700	209
Language shift rate	23.13%	5.76%

For a diachronic view of language shift patterns, I compared language use pattern across age in both enclaves. Figure 10 shows the number of speakers in the Y-axis, the age of the speakers in the X-axis, and the languages being spoken in green (Creole) and red (Spanish) both in San Andrés (left panel) and in Providencia (right panel). In San Andrés, there was a significant interaction ($p < .001$) between the languages, so that the majority of Raizals under the age of 60 are Spanish speakers, whereas the majority of Raizals over this age are Creole Speakers. In Providencia, there was no significant interaction between the languages, so the number of Raizals who speak Creole and Spanish is similar across all ages. Overall, these results confirm a clear pattern of language shift from Creole to Spanish in the young Raizal generations from San Andrés. In Providencia, the language shift rate was not significant as the number of young Raizals who only speak Spanish is not significantly larger than those who also speak Creole.

Figure 10. Language use among Raizal people from San Andrés (left) and Providencia (right)



4.1.4 Language vitality outcomes

In the previous sections, I have shown that demographic factors, such as the Raizal:Non-Raizal ratio, the migration trends, the population growth, and the distribution of the geographical space disfavor the EV of Creole in San Andrés. As a vitality outcome, the data suggest an ongoing language shift process at a rate of 23.13% in 2005, indicating a virtual break of language transmission to the new generations in this island. Furthermore, some demographic factors that might favor language maintenance, such as the virtual decrease of immigration and the higher birth rates among Raizals (as compared to Hispanics), seem to have no meaningful effect on language transmission in this island. According to the theoretical discussion presented in section 2.1.2, this appears to be a prototypical case of a minority language (Islander Creole) being displaced by a major world-language (Spanish) in unfavorable conditions for the former. However, the individual motivations behind the language shift process and its linguistic evidence remain to be seen in chapters 6 and chapter 7, respectively. Namely, the language shift process does not have to be unique and homogenous, and it is not irreversible (see section 2.1.4).

On the other hand, Creole has greater EV in Providencia, which is related to favorable demographic factors for Raizals in this island. Being more geographically isolated and less exposed to the historical conditions suffered by San Andrés, the native people in Providencia

have been less exposed to the urbanization processes, the increasing tourism, and the migration surges of Hispanic people. Therefore, the Raizal people remain as the majority on the island, own the geographic space, and continue a relatively traditional lifestyle. As a vitality outcome and according to the discussion in section 2.1.1, these data suggest a pattern of language maintenance, which means that the Creole language is likely going to be retained and continuously transmitted to the new generations. Although Creole-Spanish bilingualism is a general fact in both islands, only a few youngsters have shifted to Spanish as their main language in Providencia.

Table 31 summarizes these outcomes and the demographic information discussed for both islands. In all, the analysis presented in this section reinforces my claim that the "vigorous" status reported by Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2017) for Islander Creole needs to be revised. Indeed, the information discussed here indicates that, according to the Endangerment level scale (Campbell, L. et al., n.d), Islander Creole is at least *threatened* in San Andrés and *vulnerable* in Providencia. When compared to other standard scales, such as the Wurm's scale cited by Crystal (2000, p. 21), Creole might be considered *potentially endangered* in San Andrés, given the pressure from the major language (Spanish) and the progressive loss of potentially new speakers (children). In Kinkade's scale (Crystal, 2000, p. 20), Creole would be *endangered*, so it has still a considerably large number of speakers but its survival in this island is possible only in favorable conditions and with community support. Using Kinkade's scale, the language can be considered *viable but small* in Providencia, where, despite its small population size, most of the Raizal people speak it as their L1 and recognize it as an identity marker.

Table 31. Vitality outcomes and demographic factors by island enclave

	San Andrés	**Providencia**
Raizal : Non-Raizal ratio	1 : 2	8.25 : 1
Non-native borns	14,932	0
Raizal population growth	Decreasing	Steady
Raizal geographical space	Mostly clustered	All space over
Raizal birth rate	2.76	2.74
Language transmission	Breaking and not high	Continuous and high
Language shift rate	23.13%	5.76%
Vitality outcome	Language shift among the youngsters	Language maintenance
Vital level (endangerment level scale in Campbell, L.)	Threatened	Vulnerable
Vital level (Kinkade's scale in Crystal 2000)	Endangered	Viable but small

4.2 DOCUMENTATION NEED SCALE

The purpose of the documentation need scale is to assess how urgent it is to document a threatened or endangered language. Here, urgency or need is defined from the perspective of those who document languages as a way of giving value to the specific worldviews implicit in a language eventually disappearing. As described in the methods (chapter 3), this scale assesses the availability of information of the language based on three document-types: grammar, dictionary, and corpus, which received differential scores and weights (for more details on the scale, see section 3.2.2.1). I am not readily assuming documentation as a need because the speakers' needs and concerns might be different from language documentation and because the availability of the documentation does not guarantee its use among Creole speakers. Therefore, I am going to make a rigorous but critical use of the scale on the Islander Creole documentation.

Table 32 summarizes the scale results for the documentation that I found. Overall, the scale indicates a low documentation need (81.8% documented) given the existence of a grammar that broadly covers the core features of the grammar, a small dictionary, and a large corpus. These results are based on an exhaustive archival research as well as using materials donated by different people and some survey results.

Table 32. Need for documentation scale of Islander Creole

	Grammar	**Dictionary**	**Corpus**
Points	9/9	6/9	2/5
Percentage	100%	66.6%	40%
Factor Weight	4	2	1
Total score	$\frac{4(100\%) + 2(66.6\%) + 1(40\%)}{7}$ = 81.8%		(**Low documentation need**)

The materials assessed can be considered arguably representative of a broad and substantive part of the existing materials. However, it might be that Creole speakers perceive the documentation needs of their language differently and those perceptions may differ from the output of the scale, which as noted earlier gives the largest weight to the grammar and the lowest to the corpus. Certainly, the areas in which Creole speakers are most actively engaged are those

receiving the lowest weights from the scale: written and oral productions. For example, digitized audio and video productions were the most productive area as compared to all other areas of document production (section 4.2.3). This is especially informative for Islander Creole, which is not normally written but has a strong oral tradition. These features are not captured by the scale and have no significant effect on its results.

Therefore, beyond the scale results, it is also important to know how engaged the community is in producing Creole texts in different formats (e.g. written texts, digitized oral texts) or texts about the language itself and how it might tie to the Creole EV. In the following subsections, I will briefly describe what I found for each of the three document-types examined: grammar, dictionary, and corpus. Rather than diving into details of each document, I will be focused on describing concrete features such as the size and extension of the documents found, with additional references to their topics and contents. The last subsection is a brief discussion of the scale results.

4.2.1 Grammar

As summarized in Table 33, four documents can be considered outstanding descriptions of the Islander Creole grammar: (1) *Tiempo, Aspecto y Modalidad en el Criollo Sanandresano* 'Tense, aspect, and modality in San Andrés Creole' by O'Flynn de Chaves (1990), (2) *A contrastive grammar Islander – Caribbean Standard English – Spanish* by Bartens (2003), (3) *Descripción preliminar de la fonemática y estructura sintáctica del criollo sanandresano* 'A preliminary description of the phonemic and syntactic structure of the San Andrés Creole' by Dittmann (1992, pp. 53-85), and (4) most part of the dissertation *Variability in decreolization on Providencia, Colombia* by Washabaugh (1974). Only O'Flynn de Chaves' grammar was used for the computation of the score given that it receives the highest score. The remaining documents were used to provide a complete picture of what has been done regarding the Islander Creole grammar.

Tiempo, Aspecto y Modalidad en el Criollo Sanandresano by O'Flynn de Chaves (1990) is a large comprehensive grammar with a book-length of 219 pages. It includes all major aspects of the Islander Creole grammar: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, and Parts of Speech. Moreover, it provides additional insights on the semantics of the language at the predication

level. On Phonology, it covers the description of the vowel and consonant inventories, as well as the syllable structure and phonological processes with reasonable depth and scope. On morphology, it goes in depth in word formation processes and defines the different word boundary criteria. On syntax, the author describes the structure of the Creole sentence and different sentence-types, such as declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives, among others. The author also describes all major (e.g. Nouns) and minor (e.g. Particles) parts of speech and explains the phrase formation processes. On predication semantics, the author goes in depth in details of different predication types (e.g. equative, intransitive, transitive), arguments, and different types of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) (e.g. epistemic).

Table 33. Grammar descriptions of Islander Creole

	O'Flynn de Chaves (1990)	**Bartens (2003)**	**Dittmann (1992)**	**Washabaugh (1974)**
Grammar type	Large and Comprehensive	Basic reference grammar	Grammatical sketch	Specific aspects
Extension	Book (219 pages)	Book (159 pages)	Book chapter (30 pages)	Dissertation (167 pages)
Scope	Broad from phonology through syntax and predication semantics	Mostly syntax	Broad from phonology through syntax	Deep and narrowed. Focus on the Creole particle *fi*.

This grammar is empirically substantiated with O'Flynn's fieldwork in San Andrés. Although some specialized terminology is used, especially in the chapters on predication and TAM, the author avoids complex schemata and always gives brief definitions, clear explanations, and lots of examples, which makes the document fully understandable to a naïve reader with little to basic knowledge of linguistic terminology. The author also provides an introduction on the historical and sociolinguistic context and some Creole text appendixes. The document is available at different libraries both in San Andrés Island (e.g. Banco de la República, Universidad Nacional de Colombia) and elsewhere (e.g. Luis Ángel Arango in Bogotá, University of Pittsburgh, US). The comprehensiveness of this grammar, its scientific

status as a well-informed investigation, and its accessibility justifies the maximum score (9/9) received: 4 (large comprehensive) X 1.5 (scientific) X 1.5 (accessible).

Besides O'Flynn's comprehensive grammar, there are other descriptions available. By comparison, Bartens' (2003) work can be considered a basic reference grammar. This is an updated grammar of Islander Creole mostly focused on the syntax with a brief sketch of its phonetic and graphematic (*sic*) systems. This grammar also contains a chapter on the compound sentence and an appendix on lexical Africanisms. It has the advantage of a (Creole-English-Spanish) contrastive approach, which is appreciated and well received in the islands. The document also avoids complex schemata, gives clear explanations and many examples, and can be considered accessible for a non-expert reader. This document is also available at local libraries on the islands and at external libraries.

Descripción preliminar de la fonemática y estructura sintáctica del criollo sanandresano 'A preliminary description of the phonemic and syntactic structure of the San Andrés Creole' by Dittmann (1992, pp. 53-85) is an additional grammatical sketch on the language. The author provides a brief review of the major aspects of the grammar from the sound inventories through the compound sentence, which is useful for a quick check on the grammar. Washabaugh's (1974) dissertation is a very through analysis of the Creole particle *fi*. The author dives into all nuances of *fi*. Both Dittmann (1992) and Washabaugh (1974) are available either at libraries or on the Internet.

4.2.2 Dictionary

Regarding the Islander Creole lexicon, I found three documents: (1) *How to Speak Caribbean English* by Abello N. P., Álvarez, and Abello H., C. (2003), (2) *Glossary Creole to U.S. English and U.S. English to Creole* by Mitchell and Morren (2000), and (3) *Musida. San Andres Old Sayings* by Guzmán (2006). Table 34 summarizes the main aspects considered in the three documents. For the computation of the score in the documentation need scale, I only used Abello et al's work, given that this document receives the highest score. The other two documents were also used to describe what has been done on vocabulary.

Table 34. Dictionary-type documents on Islander Creole

	Abello et al (2003)	**Mitchell & Morren (2000)**	**Guzmán (2006)**
Material-type	Dictionary	Bilingual wordlists	Collection of proverbs
Language	Creole to English & Spanish	Creole to English & English to Creole	Creole to English & Spanish
Size	352 word entries	4,000 word entries	107 proverbs
Example phrases or sentences	Yes	Rarely	Yes
Language usage (expressions)	Yes	No	Yes
Cultural explanations	Yes	Rarely	Rarely
Accessible	Yes	No	Yes

Abello et al's (2003) document is a pocket Creole-Spanish-English dictionary. This is a small locally designed material that includes only 352 word entries alphabetically ordered. Despite its small size, the content of the dictionary is enriched with translations or ample definitions for each entry both in English and in Spanish, as well as example sentences, expressions, and cultural explanations for most of the entries. The dictionary is also illustrated with some drawings that picture the use of some of the entries in daily situations. Example 2 illustrates the style used for each entry in this dictionary. The word entry is capitalized in bold face. The body of each entry includes three parts listed with letters: a) one or two English translations or definitions, b) the pronunciation of the word entry in brackets, and c) Spanish translations or definitions. These three parts are present in every word entry.

(2) **BAAL** (a) Ball, Call, (b) *[Baal]*, (c) pelota, balón, llamar, lamentar, gritar.
Plie wid de baal (a) To play ball, (b) [*plie wid di baal*], (c) jugar con la pelota.
Baal Tommy fe me (a) Call Tommy for me. Also loud wails, usually at a funeral, especially if the deceased is known to you, (b) [*Baal Tommy fi mi*] (c) Llámame a Tommy. También son los gritos fuertes usuales en los entierros o funerales.
(Abello Navarro et al., 2003, p. 3)

A large number of entries also have one or more supplemental parts. The supplemental part includes an expression or example sentence in bold face containing the contextualized word and the same three parts listed above with letters: a) an English translation or definition of the sentence or expression, with ample cultural explanation, b) the pronunciation of the sentence or

expression example, and c) a Spanish translation or definition of the expression or the sentence with cultural explanation. This supplemental part is productive, so there is at least one expression or example sentence for each different definition per word entry. In example 2, there are two definitions/translations of the word entry *baal*: *ball* and *call*; therefore, two supplemental parts were included in this entry. *Plie wid de baal* contextualizes the first definition of *baal* as *ball*, and *Baal Tommy fe me* contextualizes the second value of *baal* as *call*. Each of the examples has its own pronunciation entries and definitions along with cultural explanations when appropriate, such as the reference to *loud wails* at funerals regarding the second meaning of *baal*.

This dictionary is available at the Banco de la República Library in San Andrés and at other different libraries in Colombian cities. Two thousand samples were printed and distributed, so it likely has reached an important number of readers. As pointed out by the authors (Abello et al., 2003, p. iv), the design of the dictionary was especially intended for the context of the islands, so its illustrations, the small amount of entries included, its pocket size, and its trilingual edition were targeting an accessible reading for an average citizen of different educational levels. The dictionary was also fieldwork-based, as the authors collected expression samples at schools, streets, and the native communities from San Luis, The Hill, and Providencia (Abello et al., 2003, p. iv).

Taking these features into account, this dictionary received the following score: one point was given to its size, as it falls far below the 2,000 words. Three bonus points were allotted for the example phrases or sentences provided, the examples of language usage or expressions, and the cultural explanations. The resulting score (4) was factored 1.5 given the accessibility of the document. Here is a summary of the score assigned: 1 (size) + 1 (example phrases/sentences) + 1 (language usage), +1 (cultural explanations) = 4 X 1.5 (accessibility) = 6.

Regarding the *Glossary Creole to U.S. English and U.S. English to Creole* by Mitchell and Morren (2000), this is also a locally designed material by language and cultural activists (i.e. Mitchell), with the professional assistance of linguists (i.e. Morren), and the sponsorship and leadership of the Christian University. It contains two alphabetically ordered wordlists: one in Creole with translations into American English and one in American English with translations into Creole. Each of these two lists contains about 4,000 words translated from one to the other language. The alphabetical order in Creole-U.S. English was decided using the orthography proposed by the Christian University, which is phonetically motivated in the Creole

pronunciation. For each Creole entry, an English translation is provided and the part of speech is listed with standard abbreviations (e.g. CONJ, ADJ, V). Alternative pronunciations are provided when having variations, as in example (3a). Brief definitions are provided for entries with native-local meanings that have no exact equivalent in English, as in example (3b). Phrase and sentence examples of the lexical entries are rarely provided, as in example (3c); apparently, there is no clear criterion when deciding where to include or not to include an example of a given entry. There are no usage examples of the entries and no cultural explanations beyond the definitions of some entries with native-local meanings that are different from English.

(3) a. "**dirt / dort** – dirt *N*"
b. "**dokunu** – pudding made from boiled corn meal and wrapped in a plantain leaf *N*"
c. "**deh** – there *ADV* 'demde uova deh'" (=they are over there) (Mitchell & Morren, 2000, p. 7)

This Glossary also contains an appendix on the Contrastive Analysis approach, which points out some of the differences between Creole and English, both in the pronunciation and in the morphosyntactic structures (e.g. English affixation versus Creole free markers). There is also a short list of contrastive words that have similar meanings but different pronunciation, morphology, and/or spelling, as in example (4). All descriptions of the Creole-English contrasts are well elaborated and illustrated with examples. Furthermore, this appendix is organized in a sequence of student lessons and includes exercises for the students, which indicates that the material was meant as a pedagogical tool.

(4) "beks (or veks) → angry (17th Century English, not often heard in American English today).
Example: Di pipl dem get beks bout dat ahn neva waahn askep im ~ The people became angry about that and did not want to accept him" (Mitchell & Morren, 2000, p. 8)

This Glossary is a local craftwork printed as a book and an unspecified number of samples were apparently distributed in the islands. Its greatest merit lies in being an authentic product, locally designed and intended as a pedagogical tool to teach Creole and to point out its differences with the lexifier language. In an interview with the author (July 28th, 2016), Mitchell confirmed to me the pedagogical approach of the material and I witnessed one of the classes he teaches using this and other authentic materials. I also interviewed one of his students and she

talked to me about the different homework assignments they do using the Glossary and other materials. Therefore, another plus of the Glossary is its usability in the context where it is most pertinent.

However, the Glossary is hardly accessible for people who are not enrolled in such classes. I could not find it in any library. Mine was a donation I received from a Baptist pastor in Providencia but it was incomplete as it lacked the appendix and the Creole-English wordlist. I later completed my material with the assistance of one of Mitchell's students. The Glossary is seemly a working document, as it contains entries that appear multiple times based on pronunciation variations, as in examples 5 a through c. These details do not diminish the merit of the document but they raise questions about the actual size (number of words) of the Glossary.

(5) a. "domout / doumout / duormout – doorway *N*"
[14 Creole entries are provided after example 5a and then the entry is duplicated (example 5b)]
b. "doumout / duomout / domout – doorway *N*"
[45 Creole entries are provided after example 5b and then the entry is duplicated (example 5c)]
c. "duomout / dourmout / domout – doorway *N*" (Mitchell & Morren, 2000, pp. 7-8)

Finally, the document *Musida. San Andres Old Sayings* by Guzmán (2006), is also a locally designed material sponsored by the Fundacion Henrietta's Group. This is a collection of 107 Creole proverbs, which represent traditional sayings of the Raizal ethnic group. The proverbs are not alphabetically ordered and there are no clear or explicit criteria on how the proverbs were sorted. Nevertheless, the document is worthy both as source of cultural knowledge and as a piece of metalinguistic knowledge of Creole expressions. As shown in example (6), the author provides the following elements for each proverb listed: (1) an English based orthographic transcription, (2) a Creole-based transcription of its pronunciation, (3) a literal translation into English, (4) a literal translation into Spanish, (5) an equivalent Spanish proverb or proverbs, (6) an equivalent English proverb or proverbs, and (7) a Spanish explanation of the meaning or meaning application. Sometimes, the author does not provide an equivalent English proverb and sometimes he provides (8) additional Creole proverbs that are similar to the proverb listed. For a few entries, the explanation of the meaning takes the form of a slightly longer cultural explanation. As seen in the example, the language used for headings was Spanish.

(6) "**Every tub sit pan their own bottom**
Pronunciación [pronunciation]: **Evrí tob sit pan dier uon batam**
Traducido al inglés estándar [standard English translation]: **Every tub sits on its own bottom**
Traducción literal [literal translation]: **Cada tina se apoya en su propio fondo**
Equivalencia [Spanish equivalence]: **Sólo el mal de la olla lo conoce el palote**
Equivalencia al inglés estándar '' [standard English equivalent]: **Fits like a glove**
Apliación [application]: **Relativo a atender nuestros propios asuntos**
Parecida a [similar to]: **Every one paddle they own boat**" (Guzmán, 2006, p. 36)

4.2.3 Corpus

For the assessment of this factor, I surveyed the existing Creole materials available in different formats: written texts, audio files, and videos. As described in the methods (chapter 3), the materials were surveyed through exhaustive archival research. This research was complemented with different online searches and an online survey to six researchers who have previously collected speech samples on the islands.

As shown in Table 35, the Islander Creole corpus I found is considerably large: nearly 300 documents, about 1,777 pages, 582,055 words, and 7,320 minutes of recordings. However, the assessment of the documentation need scale is mostly based on materials linguistically annotated with word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme glossing under the conditions of being translated into another language and being available online, at libraries, or through accessible archives. The materials that do not meet these conditions are also assessed but with a lower weight.

Regarding available materials that are accessible, translated, and linguistically annotated, there are only a few that meet all these conditions. The transcriptions of some recordings collected by O'Flynn de Chaves (1990) are available on her published Creole grammar and they are morpheme-by-morpheme glossed and translated into both Spanish and English. Although the duration of her recordings is unspecified (O'Flynn de Chaves, 1990, p. 21), a very rough estimate puts them between 2 and 4 minutes, as suggested by the extensiveness of the transcriptions. The spontaneous Creole conversation transcribed and published by Jay Edwards et al (1975) is word-by-word glossed and is translated into English. This conversation lasts about 3 minutes and 15 seconds (Edwards et al., 1975, p. 89) and is reflective of the everyday patterns

of Creole interaction in the seventies. Washabaugh (1982) includes some eight pages (about 3,285 words) of transcribed Creole narratives and spontaneous conversations. These transcriptions are also reflective of the everyday language from the seventies. Although these transcriptions have some useful annotations on some vocabulary, they are not exactly word-by-word glossed.

Table 35. Islander Creole corpus: written, audio, and video archives

Material-type	**Language**	**Documents**	**Creole extension (approximately)**	**Creole word count (approx.)**
Pedagogical	Mostly Creole monolingual	9	315 pages	16,620
Religious	Creole monolingual	5	1,246 pages	489,633
General reading	Mostly trilingual (Creole-Spanish-English) or bilingual (Creole-Spanish or Creole-English).	19	161 pages	38,001
Published research materials	Creole transcriptions or audio files	9	55 pages	29,945
Private research archives	Creole audio and video recordings	----	1,260-1,363 minutes	----
	Creole written texts	----	----	4,000
Digitized oral texts	Mostly trilingual (Creole-Spanish-English) or bilingual (Creole-Spanish or Creole-English).	255	6,060 minutes	----
	Transcripts of Creole songs (when provided)	----	----	3,856
Total for written texts		≃ 42	1,777 pages	582,055 words
Total for audio and video materials		≃ 255	7,320 minutes	----

Overall, these texts gave us about 5 to 7 minutes of transcribed recordings linguistically annotated with morpheme-by-morpheme or word-by-word glossing. Given this duration and the fact that the transcriptions are accessible, they scored 1 point in the documentation need scale. Moreover, 0.5 point was allotted to all remaining audio or video files that are not morpheme-by-morpheme or word-by-word glossed and 0.5 point was allotted to all remaining written texts

with no corresponding audio or video. In all, the score of the Islander Creole corpus in the documentation need scale is summarized as follows: 1 (annotated texts) + 0.5 (written texts) + 0.5 (non-annotated audios/videos) = 2 points.

These numbers, however, need to be qualified with the actual nature of the corpus. Table 35 above displays a large amount of materials, which I classified according to the material-type and the topic. This table also displays the dominant language per material-type, the number of documents, when available, an approximate extension of the Creole materials in number of pages or in minutes, and an approximate number of Creole words for written texts. For more details, Appendix L expands the information on these materials.

Most of the pedagogical materials were monolingual Creole booklets explicitly designed to teach different contents to students from the first levels of elementary education: reading, social sciences, and natural sciences. These materials amounted to 19 documents and an estimate of 16,620 words in 315 pages, usually in large size font. Most of these materials were designed by the Christian University Corporation with the support of Raizal teachers and leaders. Given that these materials were not designed for linguistic purposes and are not linguistically annotated, their impact on the documentation scale is small. However, this production clearly reflects the activism of Raizal people and their recent efforts to empower education initiatives from the perspective of the local community. In that sense, they are also informative of the Creole EV.

The largest amount of Creole written texts was of the religious type with approximately 1,246 pages and 489,633 words comprised in five documents. These were different Creole monolingual editions of the New Testament published in a cumulative fashion: there were some single versions of the Gospel published in the early 2000's (each of them was counted as an individual document), then all four versions of the Gospel and the Acts were published in a single edition in 2009 (counted as a single document), and, most recently, the whole New Testament was published in 2015 (all 27 books included were counted as a single document). This is also part of the Christian University's production in the islands with the active participation of Raizal leaders and other religious institutions. Thus, one of the most active dimensions of Creole writing belongs to one of the crucial cultural practices of the Raizal community as discussed in section 1.2.5.1: religion, and this may be indicative of positive EV.

General reading texts are publications on the local literature, including magazine articles, essays on social topics, poems, and stories addressed to children or a general readership. I found

nineteen publications of this type amounting to about 161 pages and 38,001 words (7 of these documents are different issues of the same Magazinne). This production displays some of the creative skills of Creole speakers described in section 1.2.5.3 and suggests some appropriation of the Creole writing along with a growing activism to disseminate their narrative and poetic creations. Although most of these publications are bi- or trilingual (Creole-Spanish-English) and reflective of the island multilingual context, there is also a large number of Spanish-English publications not reported here, a growing number of Creole publications since 2011 (see Appendix L) might be an indication of some awakening of the local culture and language.

Published research materials are Creole texts collected and transcribed by researchers on Islander Creole, usually for analytic purposes. In all, I found 9 documents containing Creole texts amounting to about 55 pages and 29,945 words. Most of these materials were narratives, conversations, or interviews collected by Friedemann (1965), Edwards et al (1975), Washabaugh (1982), Dittmann (1992, 2013), and O'Flynn de Chaves (1990), among others. These materials have a great value given that some of them were annotated and translated, so they become more useful for linguistic analysis and the assessment of the documentation need scale. Using an online survey, I also inquired about the existence of other audio, video, and written materials collected by these and other researchers and materials most commonly held in private archives. Based on the data provided by those who replied, I found that there are about 1,260 to 1,363 minutes in audio or video recordings held in private archives and nearly 4,000 words in Creole written texts without a corresponding audio file. Although not all these recordings are transcribed, this subset of the Creole corpus is valuable given the different times in which the recordings were collected: from the 60's through the recent 2010's.

Finally, I found 255 digitized Creole oral texts. Most of them are part of local productions: TV shows, music albums, documentaries, and online files; of them, 240 belong to three collections. Although most of these materials are trilingual or bilingual and only a few songs have been provided with transcriptions, these documents have an intrinsic value for EV as they reflect some activism of Raizal people in the promotion of local productions in different genres. There are about 6,060 minutes of this kind of productions, which is an important number given the population size and the high costs of commercial productions, as discussed in 1.2.5.5.

4.2.4 Discussion of the scale results

The documentation need scale indicates a considerably high level of documentation of the language (81.8%) and therefore, a low documentation need. The result is objective and strictly based on the scale parameters. Nevertheless, these numbers must be seen cautiously and should not be taken as a given. The low documentation need is mainly due to the differential weights of each component of the scale, in which the grammar has the largest weight whereas the corpus has the lowest weight. A small variation on these weights or on the score composition might trigger a different result.

Furthermore, the scale is mostly based on scientific criteria, so whenever a material meets certain features, such as a speech sample being transcribed and linguistically glossed, it triggers higher scores. In the scale, it is especially questionable that the areas of most active and effective engagement of the speakers are those receiving the lowest scores. Thus, there is a clear contrast between a few Creole grammars, which are worthy and well done but not emerging from local initiatives, and the considerably large numbers of local productions in the form of pedagogical materials, general reading texts, and music albums, among others. If one wants to assess the EV of a language through documentation need assessment, more weight should be given to the local materials and more attention must be paid to the processes behind them.

For example, in its January 22nd, 2016 edition, the local newspaper *El Isleño* (see section 1.2.5.5) published an announcement seeking an editor/sponsor who might be willing to publish a new book of poems just written by a local Creole writer. This writer is well known in the islands and has already published other materials, but the announcement indicates certain activism when pursuing a publication. The reasoning for the announcement relies on linguistic rights, the appreciation of the Creole language, and the wish to distribute the book freely among teachers and students. These mobilization processes around the language and language products cannot be captured by the documentation scale but may be informative of EV. Similarly, the existence of an extensive Creole grammar, which received the highest score in the scale, may not fulfill the actual needs of the Creole speakers; they would be probably more interested in having a student Creole grammar than a grammar meeting all scientific standards. This is one of the reasons why the subjective EV should be assessed, which is the purpose of the next chapter.

4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I analyzed the objective EV of Islander Creole using two standardized scales: the endangerment level scale and the documentation need scale. On the endangerment level scale, I analyzed four factors: (1) population size and the geographical space, (2) birth rates and language transmission, (3) language use and language shift, and (4) language vitality outcomes. There were a series of unfavorable demographic factors for language maintenance in San Andrés, such as the reduction of Creole speakers to a demographic minority and the seclusion of the geographical space. There was a break in language transmission to a portion of the young generations, yielding a pattern of a diminishing use of Creole among the young generations from San Andrés. In Providencia, Raizals are a majority and the Creole language continues being actively used and transmitted at home. These data suggested a general pattern of language maintenance in Providencia, and a pattern of language shift to Spanish among the young generations from San Andrés, which reached a 23.13% rate in 2005.

On the documentation need scale, I found that the Creole language is documented at an 81.8% level and, therefore by this measure, there is a low documentation need. Three document types were analyzed: (1) grammar, (2) dictionary, and (3) corpus. There were four grammar-type documents, with one of them reaching the maximum score giving its accessibility, scope, extension, and the fulfillment of scientific criteria. There were three dictionary-type documents, with a small pocket dictionary reaching a medium score, as the document is enriched with cultural explanations, expressions, and example phrases. There was a large Creole corpus of written and digitized oral texts, but only a small part of it meets the criteria of accessibly, linguistic annotation, and translation. The scale results are not necessarily reflective of the documentation needs of the community, given the highest weighting to the grammar, and the lowest weighting to the corpus, in which Creole speakers are more active.

5.0 CHAPTER 5: SUBJECTIVE EV

The previous chapter presented the results on the objective EV. The present chapter presents the results on the subjective EV, providing an answer to the second research question: What is the subjective EV of Creole? In order to answer the question, I used the participants' responses to a language use self-report (see Appendix A), and to the Qualitative EV interview (see section 3.1.2.3). These sources of information provided me with insights on how the participants' rate their own use of the languages they declare to speak and how vital the Raizal group and the Creole language appear to be from the participants' perspective. Hence, the subjective EV is analyzed as a cluster of perceptions or opinions that relate to the language but also include related categories, such as social networks (ties and interactions with friends, neighbors, classmates, workpairs), family composition, the use of languages in informal, formal, and literacy oriented activities, and the perception of discrimination and social and linguistic rights. This approach complements the objective EV given that, beyond demographic and macro-statistical information, it brings in the subjective perspectives of the participants.

5.1 LANGUAGE USE SELF-REPORTS

Language use self-reports correspond to the participants' perceptions of their own use of the languages available in their linguistic repertoire. These reports are considered part of the subjective EV because the perceived use can divert from the actual use and may be mediated by language ideologies. Namely, the speakers can over- or underreport their use of a given language as a reflection of their emotional attachment to their native language, a reaction to a perceived threat from a major language, a projection of language prestige, or an ideological representation of how the languages should be distributed in the social context (Yagmur & Ehala, 2011, p. 104).

The perceptions of language use are important for EV as they may disclose part of the participants' linguistic attitudes and suggest some awareness, resistance, or acceptance of the forces mobilizing language use, language maintenance, and language shift (Karan, 2011, pp. 144-145). Ideally, a contrast between self-reports and ethnographic data would provide a complete picture of language use. Although such a contrast was beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will discuss language ideologies in chapter 6.

Given the multilingual context of the islands, one cannot expect a language to be exclusively used in a given context or with a given person. A completely diglossic situation seems unrealistic (Romaine, 2006, pp. 453-454) and the descriptions from previous studies suggest no diglossic situation on the islands (Abouchaar et al., 2002). Therefore, instead of absolute choices, the participants were asked to rate how frequently they speak Creole, Spanish, and English with different people (e.g. their parents, siblings, children) and in different social settings (e.g. home, school or work, administrative offices) (see Appendix A). For each of these settings and interlocutors, the participants were instructed to use a rating of 1 for the most frequently spoken language, 3 for the least frequently spoken language, and 2 for intermediate frequencies. This was a force-choice task, as the participants could not give the same rate (e.g. 1) to different languages (e.g. Creole and Spanish) in the same setting (e.g. Home) or with the same interlocutor (e.g Parents). However, they could skip some of the questions or the ratings for a given language. For example, if they reported not speaking a language (e.g. English) or if they did not have daughters or sons. Namely, the perceptions of language use frequency are broad estimates that can vary from speaker to speaker and from situation to situation. For example, a language most frequently spoken (rated 1) can be anything from the majority of times to always or almost always, and a language least frequently spoken (rated 3) can be anything from rarely to never or almost never. Thus, although I attempted to find some patterns of reported language use, the participants' perceptions should not be taken as an indication of homogeneity.

Table 36 summarizes the reports of the most frequently spoken language with some interlocutors (the table-columns), averaged across the participant subsets (the table-rows). From left to right, the columns display the interlocutors both in a generational fashion: parents – siblings – daughters or sons, and in an inner-outer relationship to ego (in the anthropological sense): neighbors – friends – tourists. Among the latter, neighbors are the most inner relationship given the settling patterns of the islands, as neighbors are usually family members. In the cells, a

capital letter indicates the most frequently spoken language reported: C (Creole) and S (Spanish). Single letters were assigned only when the average report of that language reached at least 80% of responses in a given participants-subset. The combinations of letters represent situations in which none of the language reached 80% of responses, for example CS means that both Creole and Spanish received approximately the same amount of ratings as frequent languages (both between 40% and 60% of responses) and C(S) means that Creole received more rates (80%>X>60%) than Spanish (40%>X>20%) as the most frequent language but less than 80%. The values in brackets represent the percentage of Creole being reported as the most frequent language spoken in each cell. The shaded areas depict the patterns of language use reported.

Table 36. Patterns of language use in participants' self-reports

			Parents	Siblings	Daughters/sons	Neighbors	Friends	Tourists
Creole fluently- speaking	Older adults	San Andrés	C (0.92)	C (1.00)	C (1.00)	C (1.00)	C (1.00)	S (0.00)
		Providencia	C (0.83)	C (0.83)	C (0.80)	C (0.83)	C (0.83)	S (0.00)
	Young adults	San Andrés	C (0.83)	C (0.83)	C (1.00)	C(S) (0.75)	C(S) (0.75)	SE (0.08)
		Providencia	C(E) (0.75)	C (0.92)	C (0.86)	C(S) (0.75)	C(S) (0.75)	S(E) (0.08)
Creole-shifting	Older adults	San Andrés	CS (0.43)	S (0.14)	S (0.17)	CS (0.43)	S (0.14)	S (0.00)
	Young adults	San Andrés	CS (0.40)	S (0.00)	S (0.00)	S (0.20)	S (0.20)	S (0.00)
		Providencia	S(C) (0.25)	S(C) (0.25)	S (0.00)	S (0.00)	S (0.00)	SE (0.00)

C = Mostly Creole (≥ 80%); S = Mostly Spanish (≥ 80%);

C(S/E): Frequently Creole (80%>X>60%), Spanish or English less frequently (40%>X>20%);

CS: Creole & Spanish equally frequently (60%>X>40%);

SE: Spanish & English equally frequently (60%>X>40%).

S(C/E): Frequently Spanish (80%>X>60%), Creole or English less frequently (40%>X>20%).

Values in brackets are the percentage of Creole being reported as the most frequent language spoken (0.80=80%)

Shaded areas represent patterns of language use reported.

Table 36 discloses three main patterns of perceived language use (the shaded areas): (1) most of the responses indicate Creole as the most frequent language (green area), (2) most of the responses indicate Spanish as the most frequent language (red area), and (3) both Creole and Spanish approached evenly distributed proportions of responses as the most frequent languages (the blue area). The first pattern belongs only to the fluent Creole-speaking group, who declared to speak Creole most frequently than other languages. Of them, the older adults hold the highest estimates of Creole use with everyone but tourists and these estimates reached a 100% among those from San Andrés for most of the cells. There were similarly high estimates of Creole use among young adults only for close family members: parents, siblings, and daughters or sons. Within this pattern, there is a trend among the older adults from San Andrés and the young adults from Providencia, in which Creole received fewer rates as the most frequent language for interactions with parents. This is because a few participants reported English as the most frequent language used for this purpose. Overall, the first pattern is consistent with the patterns of language transmission and language use depicted in chapter 4 (see Figures 9 and 10), in which Creole is used more among the older generations while it decreases among the younger generations.

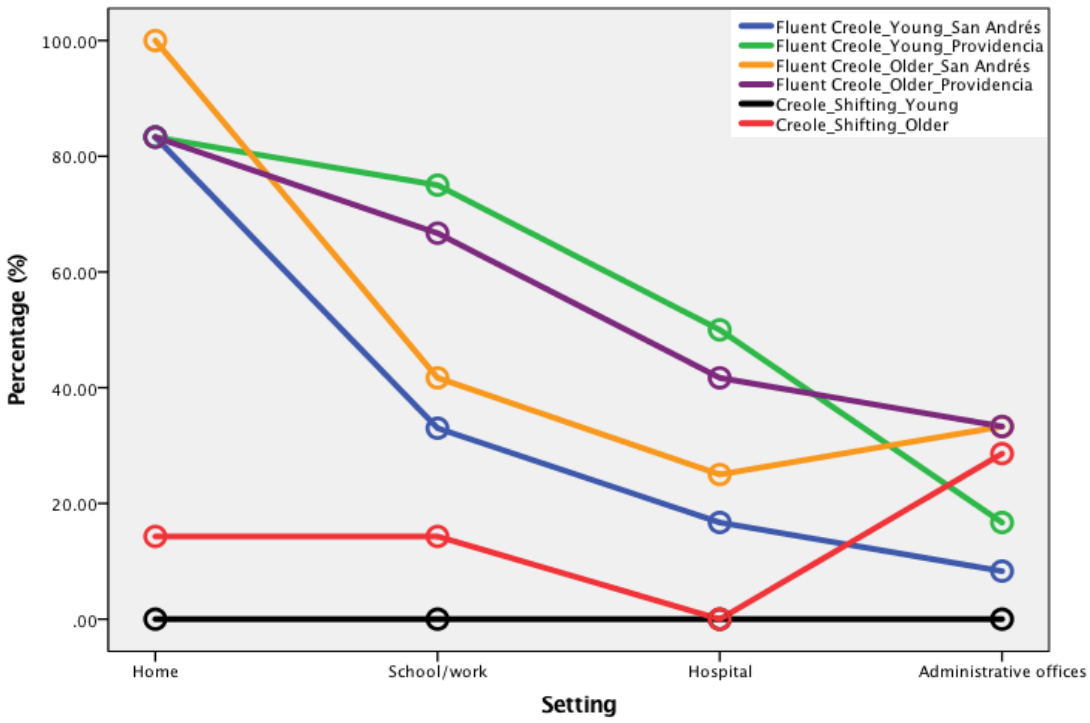
The second pattern corresponds to higher proportions of Spanish being reported as the most frequently spoken language. This was seen mainly in Creole-shifting participants and in all interactions with out-group members (tourists). The pattern covers almost all interactions of Creole-shifting participants, especially among the young adults, and most particularly among those from Providencia. The pattern also implies a decreased perception of Creole as a frequent language with 25% or less of the responses. These percentages were due to some young participants who reported using Creole for interactions with their parents and siblings. Overall, the second pattern of language use reported is also consistent with the language shift trend toward Spanish documented in chapter 4, specifically that the young generations are more affected by this process.

The third pattern corresponds to mixed responses in which both Creole and Spanish received similar proportions of responses as frequent languages. There were two trends within this pattern: the first trend is seen in some of the young fluent Creole-speaking participants (75%) who reported Creole as the most frequent language for interactions with neighbors and friends, while another portion (25%) declared Spanish as the most frequent. This trend suggests

that, for the young generations, the Creole language may be lessening for interactions out of the circle of close family members. The second trend of this pattern belongs to older adults from the Creole-shifting group: for interactions with neighbors and parents, both Creole and Spanish received very similar proportions (60%>X>40%) of responses as frequent languages. It appears that the oldest family members and neighbors from traditional neighborhoods may add some pressure to keep using the native language. The same trend was also observed among the young adults from the Creole-shifting group in San Andrés, for interactions with their parents.

Altogether, the three patterns of perceived language use suggest that Creole is most frequently used among the older generations while it lessens among the youngsters and decreases dramatically among the Creole-shifting participants. By looking at the participants' self-reports on language use across different social settings, some of these perceptual patterns are confirmed: the home appeared as the privileged setting for Creole use, while it decreases in other social settings. Figure 11 shows the percentages of Creole being reported as the most frequent language in four social settings: home, school and/or work, hospital (health center, primary care center, hospital), and administrative offices (major office, governor office, Oficina de Control de Circulación y Residencia (OCCRE)) on the X-axis. The lines represent the participants' subsets.

Figure 11. Percentages of Creole as the most frequent language in social settings



Four main patterns of perceived language use can be inferred from Figure 11. First, the young Creole-shifting participants never reported Creole as the most frequent language in any of the social settings considered, while the older adults from the same subset rarely rated it as a frequent language. In this group, there were higher proportions of responses of Creole as a frequent language in administrative offices. Thus, these participants might have perceived Creole as more frequently used when dealing with Creole speakers who are part of an office-staff than when assessing their own use at home.

Secondly, there is some consistency on the perceptions of Creole as the most frequent language at home among fluent Creole speakers. Given that home is a critical dimension for language transmission (see section 2.1.1), this perception is important as it shows the home as the privileged setting for Creole use. There is also a decrease in the perceived use of Creole in other social settings among these participants. As I have pointed out, these may be ideological representations of language use that may not align with the actual use. Moreover, the report of Creole as the language of home may be also a declaration of ethnicity (Karan, 2011, p. 7).

Thirdly, despite the consistency in the perceptions of language use among fluent Creole speakers, there are some noticeable differences between San Andrés and Providencia. There were higher estimates of Creole as the most frequent language among the participants from Providencia at school/work and at the hospital. This may be due to the fact that there are fewer Spanish L1 speakers in Providencia and therefore Creole may be perceived as more widely used in public settings. It doesn't imply that Creole is officially used in these social settings but it might indicate the perceptions of daily interactions of Creole across all social settings. On the contrary, there were fewer estimates of Creole as the most frequent language in the same settings in San Andrés; this may relate to the larger proportions of Spanish L1 speakers in this island, decreasing the perceptions of Creole use there.

Finally, a fourth pattern shows that all adult generations (including those from the Creole-shifting group) agree on the proportion of estimates of Creole as a frequent language in administrative offices. These participants explained to me that they feel comfortable speaking Creole in these offices, as the office-staff are usually Creole speakers. There were, however, fewer responses of Creole as a frequent language in these settings among the young generations. Although there is no clear clue on this, it might be that the young generations were more willing to accommodate to the official-state language (Spanish) than older adults in these settings.

5.2 SUBJECTIVE EV SCORES

The subjective EV scores are numerical measures of the participants' opinions on different matters of both the language and the social context, which arguably reflect their perceptions of EV. As described in the Methods (chapter 3), instead of having the participants rating the languages and the ethnic groups in a Likert scale –as in the traditional SEVQ (Bourhis et al., 1981), I implemented an in-depth qualitative EV interview in a conversational style. This design allowed me to have both a numerical measure of the participants' responses and a qualitative examination of the participants' answers to a series of follow-up open questions that expanded their opinions. Recall that, following Hoffman and Walker (2010), the answers to thirty-two main questions were scored from 1 to 3, with 3 being the strongest orientation to the Raizal ethnic group, 1 the weakest orientation to this group, and 2 indicating mixed or intermediate positions. In this section, I will present first the results of a statistical analysis of the subjective EV scores and then I will follow with a qualitative examination of the participants' responses.

For the scale, I am assuming that ethnicity is gradable and sensitive to the individual situations (Hoffman & Walker, 2010, p. 41) rather than categorical (e.g. being or not being Raizal). Some of my participants elaborated on this with spontaneous categories such as "[I am] hundred percent as a Raizal, genuine, fully settled in this island", "half and half (one of the parents not being Raizal)", and "75%" and "25% Raizal" as more intricate categories. This approach to ethnicity as gradable, complex, and multifaceted has proven accurate in the investigation of other contact settings, such as those investigated by Hoffman and Walker (2010) in Canada. In this dissertation, the EV interview was effective to explore how the participants' ethnic identification and social networks, language uses, family composition, and opinions on linguistic rights and social discrimination may relate to a perceived EV.

Given the different socio-historical circumstances that each island has faced (see chapter 1), the substantial demographic contrasts between them (see chapter 4), and some patterns of language use (see section 5.1), I hypothesized that there would be some differences in the EV scores between the islands or between the age groups, or both. A visual inspection of the group means suggested no difference between the age groups but a clear contrast between the fluent Creole-speaking participants from San Andrés, the fluent Creole-speaking participants from Providencia, and the Creole-shifting participants from both islands.

I also explored the statistical means for each of the five dimensions of the EV interview: (1) ethnic identification and social networks, (2) family, (3) language, (4) beliefs, and (5) linguistic rights, language/speakers' welfare, and discrimination. The answers to the fourth dimension were very abnormally distributed. This dimension included three main questions: one about what language children should learn and two about marriage preferences for both Raizal men and Raizal women. In the first question, most of the participants indicated that children should learn all Creole, Spanish, and English, which suggested no variation in the answers to this particular question. The last two questions were introduced to inquire if the participants align marriage and ethnic group. The responses were very random and sparse without a clear pattern across the islands or the age groups. Most of the participants indicated no particular marriage preference for endogamous or exogamous relationships, suggesting no alignment of these factors. However, there were some participants who indicated that Raizals should marry Raizals. Moreover, some of the females –but not a majority– answered that Raizal males should marry Raizal females but not necessarily the other way around. Given that this dimension was introducing abnormality in the sample and there was no clear pattern beyond random individual opinions, the scores from this section were set aside (for now).

Moreover, there were two outliers from the older adult group in Providencia: Helen and Kasandra, who received very low EV scores as compared to their fellows. Both Helen and Kasandra displayed negative views of the Creole language. They declared to be Raizal or native Islanders, I witnessed different interactions in the Creole language, and their production tasks suggest that they mastered this language at a native level. However, in the language self-report, they declared to speak it only sometimes and some weeks later, in the EV interview they stated that English, not Creole, was their mother tongue and the native language of the island. In this last interview, they also stated having a limited proficiency in Creole, and only used infrequently. They described Creole as not proper for the island, as a street, useless, and funny variety, and even as a threat for English. These responses explained their unusually low scores, indicating a weak orientation to the ethnic group and the Creole language.

Both Kasandra and Helen's perspectives are critical to understanding that praising English, British heritage, and Anglo culture are commonplace among islanders (see section 2.3.2). I will, therefore, return to this and other language ideologies in chapter 6. However, for the purpose of the specific statistical analysis of this section, these outliers were omitted. Once

these adjustments were made, I computed the average score of the remaining four EV dimensions giving equal weight to each of them. These data were submitted to a one-way between subjects ANOVA with a preset $\alpha = .05$. The average EV score was set as the dependent variable, while the grouping variable was set as the independent factor with three levels: (1) Fluent Creole speakers from San Andrés, (2) Fluent Creole speakers from Providencia, and (3) Creole-shifting participants from both islands.

Table 37 displays the means and standard deviations for the three groups. The assumption of normality for all groups and the assumption of homogeneity of variance were met. The F-test found significant differences between the groups, $F_{.05}(2,59) = 71.366, p < .001, \eta^2 = .71$ and the effect size was considerably large, as it explains 71% of the variation in the dependent variable. The Fluent Creole-speaking group from Providencia scored the highest (EV = 2.41, SD = .09), while the Creole-shifting group (from both islands) scored the lowest (EV = 1.90, SD = .17), and the Fluent Creole-speaking group from San Andrés scored in between these two groups (EV = 2.19, SD = .13). The post-hoc tests with Bonferroni correction for family-wise error indicate that the differences between each of these means were also statistically significant, as shown in Table 38.

Table 37. EV means and standard deviations for three groups

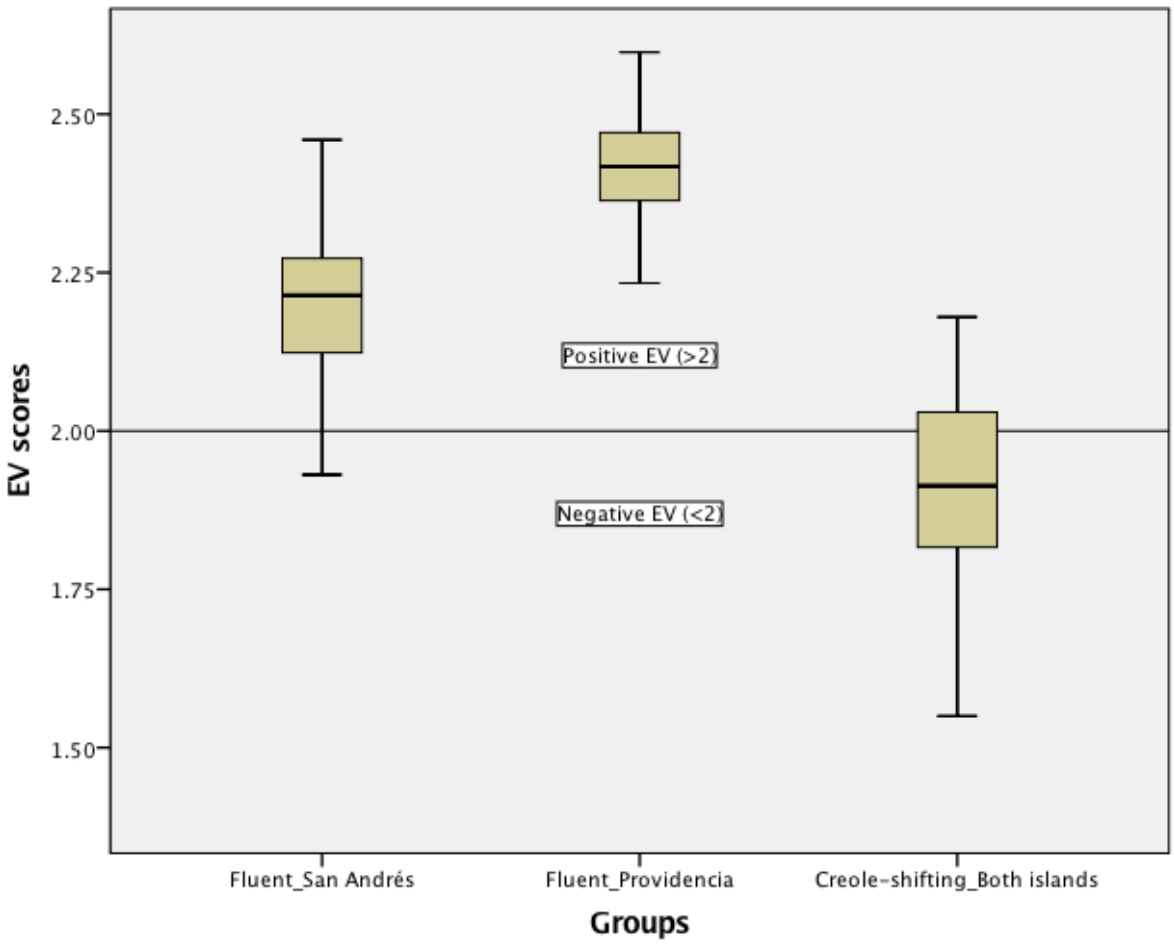
Group	N	M	SD
Fluent_Creole_Providencia	22	2.42	.09
Fluent_Creole_San Andrés	24	2.20	.13
Creole_shifting_Both islands	16	1.90	.17

Table 38. EV mean differences between groups using Bonferroni correction

Groups		Mean difference	Sig	Lower bound	Upper bound
Fluent_Providencia	Fluent_San Andrés	.22	<.001	.12	.31
	Creole_shifting	.51	<.001	.41	.62
Fluent_San Andrés	Fluent_Providencia	-.22	<.001	-.31	-.12
	Creole-shifting	.30	<.001	.19	.40
Creole-shifting	Fluent_San Andrés	-.30	<.001	-.40	-.19
	Fluent_Providencia	-.51	<.001	-.62	-.41

As plotted in Figure 12, these results mean that the fluent Creole-speaking participants from Providencia hold perceptions of relatively high vitality of Creole and displayed the strongest orientation to the Raizal ethnic group. Those from San Andrés also displayed positive EV scores (above 2) but their perceptions of vitality were comparatively lower than those from Providencia. Only the Creole-shifting participants received negative EV scores (below 2), which are likely related to their lower use or performance in Creole, their weaker orientation to the Raizal ethnic group, and social factors that are potentially related to the shifting process (e.g. weaker social networks with the Raizal group, mixed family ties).

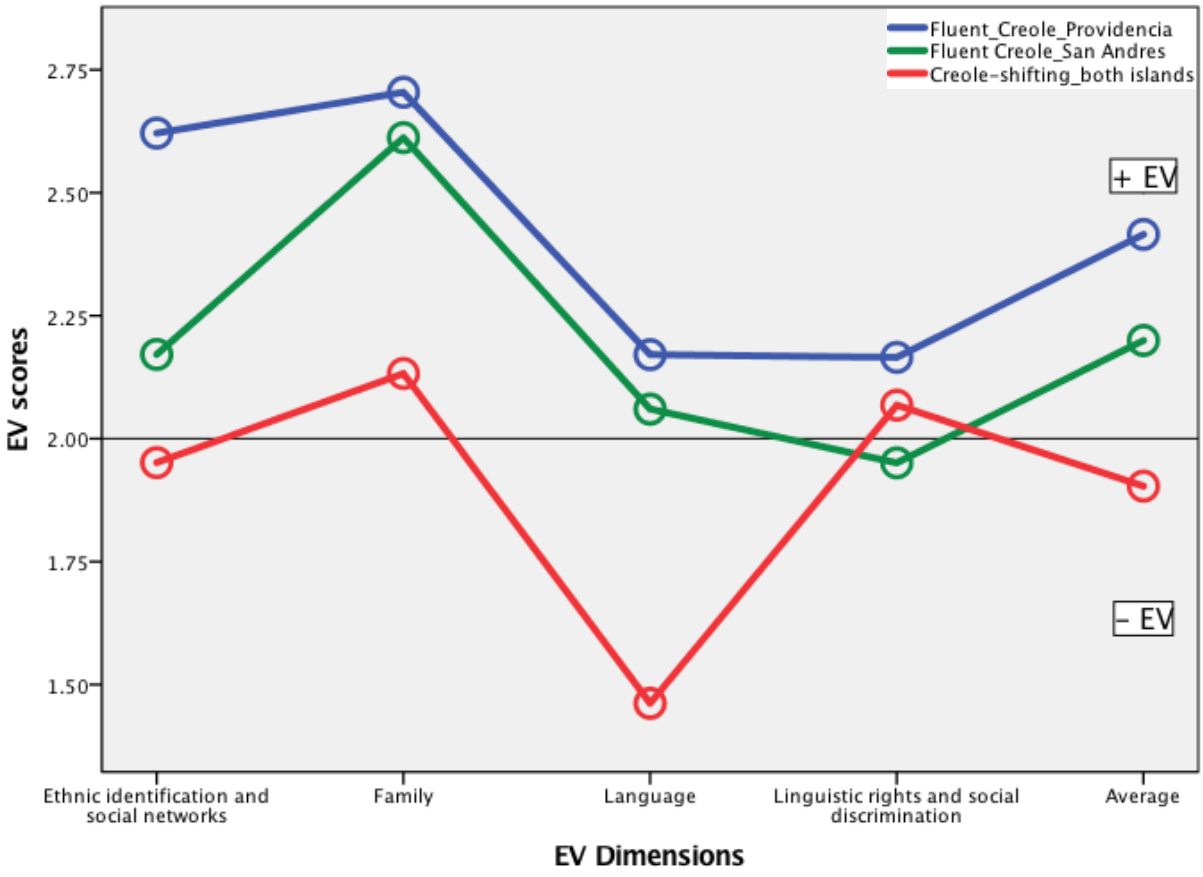
Figure 12. EV mean scores by groups



These results are consistent with the demographic factors discussed in chapter 4. The relatively high EV scores of the fluent Creole-speaking group from Providencia appear to align with the favorable conditions for language maintenance on this island. The historical and demographic factors affecting San Andrés might have had an impact on the subjective perceptions of EV among the fluent Creole-speaking participants from this island, whose EV scores were positive but comparatively lower than those from Providencia. The potential effects of the historical and demographic processes affecting the islands may have had a stronger effect on the subjective EV of the Creole-shifting participants, whose EV scores were predictably much lower than the rest. Although most of the Creole-shifting participants were from San Andrés (12/16), there were also some participants from Providencia (4/16), so this island is not necessarily exempted from a decrease on the subjective EV. Similarly, although most of the participants were young adults (9/16), there were some older adults (7/16) undergoing a language shift process and holding lower EV scores. Thus, the language shift process and negative EV scores are not exclusive to the young generations.

The composition of the overall EV score is also explained by the different response-trends observed in each of the four dimensions that were retained from the EV interview. Figure 13 shows the EV scores in each of the four dimensions for each of the three groups. The fluent Creole group from San Andrés differs from Providencia in the dimension of linguistic rights and social discrimination and, more clearly, in the dimension of ethnic identification and social networks. On linguistic rights, the participants from San Andrés displayed more perceptions of social discrimination and absence or deficiency of rights, social benefits or preferences than those from Providencia. On ethnic identification and social networks, the responses from Providencia showed stronger social networks within the ethnic group, as well as perceptions of a marginal presence of Spanish L1 speakers. Their friendship, relationship with co-workers, and neighbor relationships were dominantly Raizal. In San Andrés, the responses were more mixed given the perception of a larger presence of Spanish L1 speakers both in the island and in their social networks. Creole-shifting participants differed from fluent Creole speakers from both islands in all dimensions but in linguistic rights and social discrimination. It may be that their perceptions on this dimension were not critical given that Creole is not their primary language and therefore their communicative needs and demands in this language were different. In the following sections, I will examine these trends in each of the EV dimensions studied.

Figure 13. Creole EV means by dimensions



5.2.1 Ethnic identification and social networks

Figure 14 shows that most of the participants identified themselves as Raizal and/or islander regardless of their group. In the Creole-shifting group, there were comparatively more mixed descriptors of ethnicity such as Raizal or Islander combined with Colombian or Caribbean or all of these response-types combined. Table 39 shows some of the participants' responses. Those who identified themselves as Raizal said that this word defines their roots to the islands (Haley), their legacy from their parents and grandparents (Wilson), and their settling on the islands for a long time (Anthony). A few of them related the word to the Creole language (Felisha) or made a case for their differences to Colombians (Philip) or to the term *islander* (Darcey). Overall, *Raizal* appeared as a category for ethnic authenticity and distinctiveness and brings emotional associations to the islands, their culture, their history, and their language (Belkis).

Figure 14. Ethnic identification

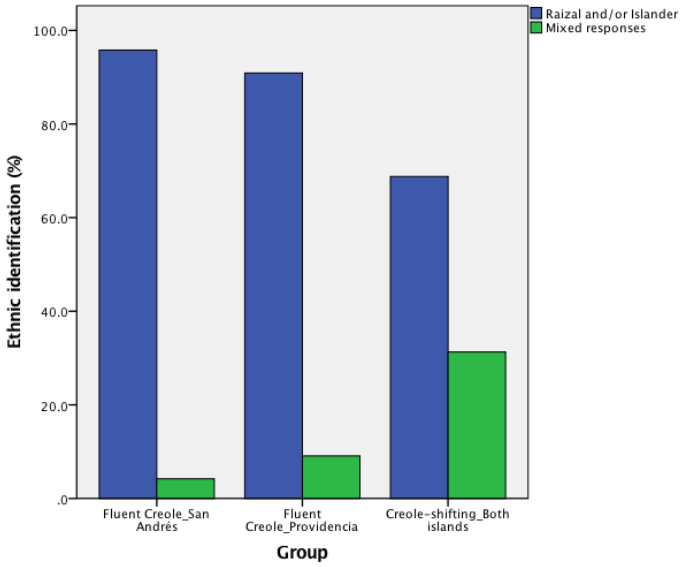


Table 39. Examples of ethnicity descriptors

Raizal	Islander	Mixed responses
- Haley: It is my root and culture that identify us. - Wilson: I come from Raizal, mother and father. - Anthony: Because we have more than 400 years living here. - Felisha: I was born here, I grew here, and speak Creole. - Philip: I have different trait, different from Colombia. We don't have to see with Colombia [anything to do with Colombia]. - Darcey: [It] is better because it is how we identify ourselves. Islander is more general. - Belkis: I love my food, my island, my language. We not for shame for what we are. We come from slaves, used to work.	- George: Because we were not Colombian. We belonged to England, we speak English. - Rick: We are under Colombian law, but I don't consider myself Colombian. They took away our sea. - Geneva: I was born in the island and both of my parents were born in the island, so I am full islander. - Florence: because of the language we speak, I consider myself islander. Those from San Andrés speak it differently.	- Bernie: My two last names [dad's and mom's] are 100% Raizal, but I didn't have the opportunity to speak English, but I defend myself [speaking English]. - Albert: 100% Raizal, I am not. I come from San Andrés roots. Thanks Lord, my dad is Colombian. I have other blood and other costumes. - Tanya: Raizal because I am from the island and the island belongs to Colombia.

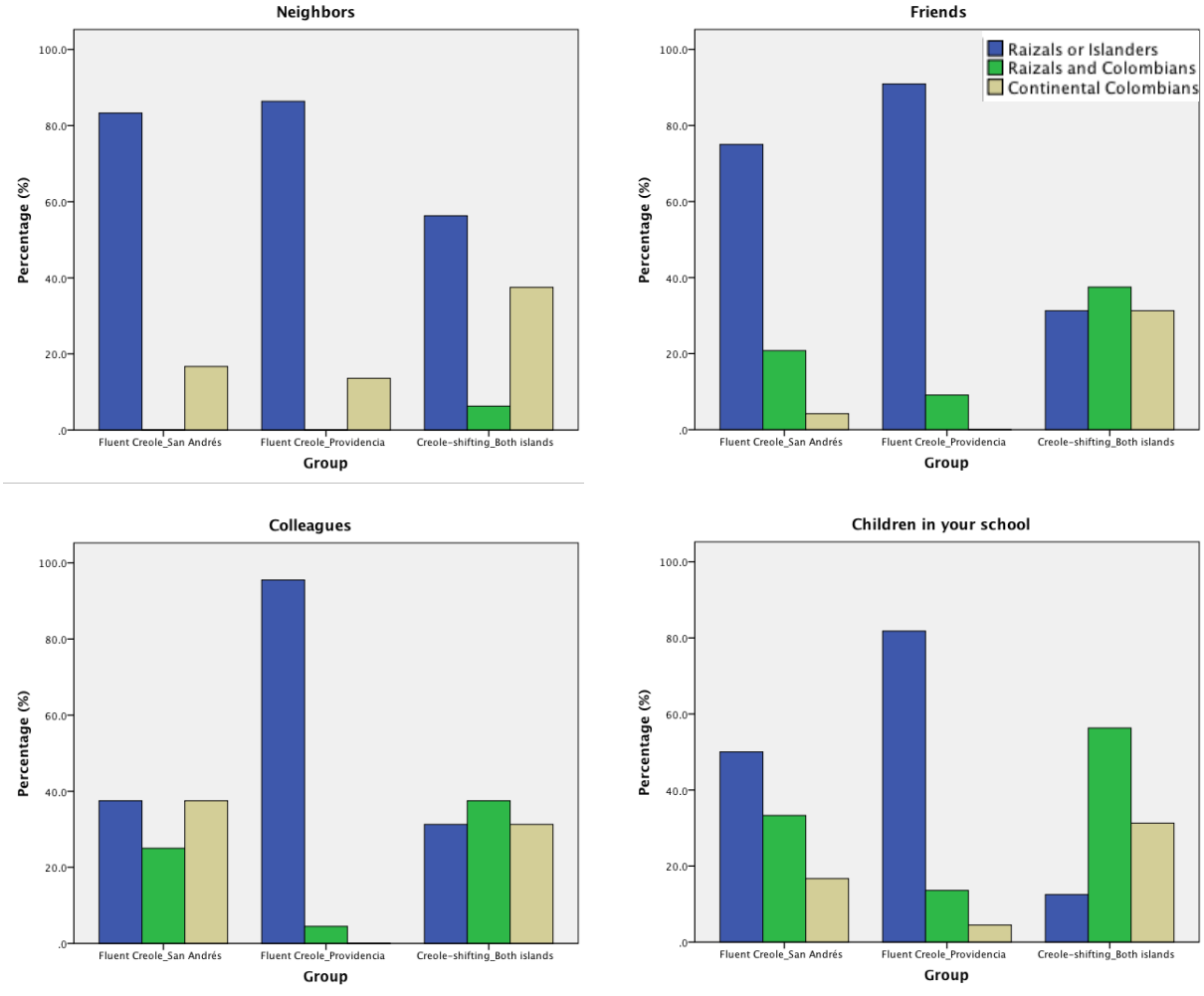
The term *islander* was more commonly used in Providencia and it appears to have a variety of connotations. First of all, the participants related this term to the English language and the British legacy (e.g. George). Secondly, the participants emphasized more intensively their distinctiveness from Colombia (e.g. George, Rick). Finally, there were some responses similar to the term *Raizal*, which focused on the fact of being born in the islands and having grown there (e.g. Geneva). A few participants stated their perceived differences in the language with respect to San Andrés (e.g. Florence).

Mixed responses were more common among Creole-shifting participants. Their responses reflect that they acknowledge lack of input or proficiency in the local language despite having their parents' Raizal last names (e.g. Bernie). Other participants decreased their degree of being Islanders or Raizals because one of their parents is not native from the island (e.g. Albert). Contrary to what was observed with the terms *Raizal* and *Islander*, there were some mixed responses that acknowledge the islands being Colombian and this appeared to be a factor for their ethnic identification (e.g. Tanya).

5.2.1.1 *Social networks*. Ethnic identification also relates to the social networks of the participants. Here, social networks were understood as a "web of ties" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 117) or clusters of people that the participants interact with most frequently and meaningfully (Milroy, 1987, pp. 45-46). Given that Raizals are a relatively small, traditional, and territorially based community, networks of friendship, relationship with co-workers, and schooling may encourage or demand the interaction on a given language and have an effect on EV. The participants answered who were most of their friends, neighbors, colleagues, and children in their schools when they were going to school. Based on their responses, Figure 15 plots the participants' dominant social networks: intraethnic (Raizal and/or islander), interethnic (continental Colombians) or a mixed pattern of both (Raizals and continental Colombians).

Raizals were dominant in neighbor and friendship relationships among fluent Creole participants from both islands. As illustrated by Michael's example (7a), the settlement patterns of the island explain the dominance of Raizals in traditional neighborhoods where families and extended families used to settle and friendship ties are developed. These answers suggest a pattern of territorially based networks that may serve to reinforce social norms (Milroy, 1987, p. 50), such as Creole daily use, and favor language maintenance in this group.

Figure 15. Dominant social networks



For my participants, Raizal friendship brings associations of solidarity (see Ralph's example (7b)), confidence (see Zack's example (7c)), and common ground in daily activities and games (see Nick's example (7d)) and in the language (see Diana's example (7e)). The participants also mention some specific schools they attended, which were dominantly Raizal, as in Jackeline's example (7f). There were slightly more mixed friendship networks in San Andrés than in Providencia, presumably due to the larger presence of Spanish speakers in the former, as illustrated by Ralph's example (7g).

(7) a. Michael: Raizal […] family lands come from generation through generation. I was raised in San Luis, Rocky Cay

b. Ralph: Raizal […] we understand each other, we help each other.

c. Zack: Raizal […] we live together from childhood. We have more confidence in Raizal people […] 95% of people in Sound Bay are Raizal.

d. Nick: We born here […] from children we interact more [with Raizals] We play *dominó* [dominoes], basketball [and have] food, soup, *rondón*.

e. Diane: When I was kid, I couldn't speak Spanish well, so I looked for friends who speak my language.

f. Jackeline: [I went to] Tamarind School in The Hill. There were not a lot of people. We were all Raizal.

g. Ralph: Rock Hole is a paña sector. That is why I know how to speak Spanish.

Finally, for Creole-shifting participants, the social networks were mixed in all network domains. Kristine, for example, indicated she lives in a neighborhood in which continental Colombians are dominant (example 8a). Tanya stated that she has been more acquainted with Continental Colombians since childhood and early school (example 8b), and Clark remembered speaking mainly Spanish, while regretting having lost his Raizal roots (example 8c). Altogether, this suggests that being settled in Hispanic dominant neighborhoods and having a stronger presence of continental Colombians in the participants' networks might be important factors for the language shift process in this group. Of all domains, schooling might have been a crucial one, given its early influence in the participants' childhood. Indeed, it is interesting to see that in early school there were more responses of mixed social networks and much less responses of dominant Raizal networks, as compared to the other domains of this group.

(8) a. Kristine: I am always surrounded by pañas. I live in a paña neighborhood. I only engage with Raizals when I meet my parental grandmother's family.

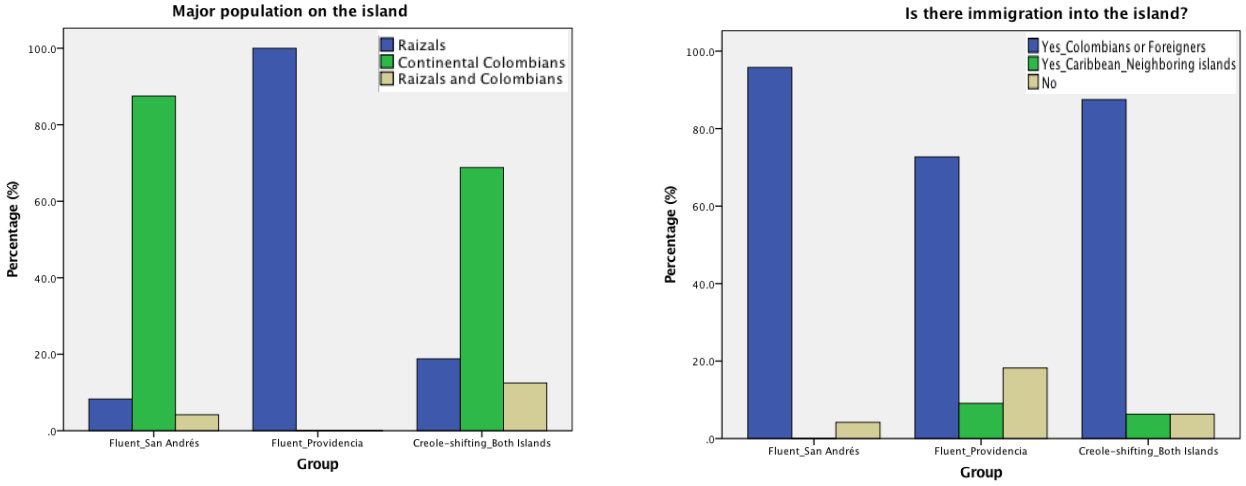
b. Tanya: Since I was a kid and in the school, I acquaint more with the pañas than with the islanders.

c. Clark: I was getting lose that root [the Raizal root]. We all used to speak Spanish.

5.2.1.2 *Perceptions of immigration and population majorities*. The perception of the presence of Spanish L1 speakers was the last component of the first EV dimension. Two questions were examined here: Who are most of the inhabitants of the islands? and Are people migrating into the islands? If so, who are they? On the first question, the contrast between San Andrés and Providencia was categorical as the participants from the former stated that Continentals are the

majority in their island, while those from Providencia stated that Raizals are the majority there, as shown in Figure 16. On the second question, the contrast was not categorical as the participants from both islands equally stated immigration contiguity. The perceptions of Creole-shifting participants for both questions are similar to those of the fluent Creole speakers from San Andrés.

Figure 16. Perceptions of population majorities (left) and immigration (right) in the islands



Examples 9 a through c illustrate some of the opinions of the participants from San Andrés. As suggested by Georgiana's statement (example 9a), it seems that there is some historical awareness of the peak of Colombian immigration after the Free Port declaration. Since then, the notion of overpopulation and continuous immigration appears to be pervasive as suggested by Felisha (example 9b). In Felisha's statement, one can also perceive some complaint that the immigrants' presence should have been temporary. Oliver elaborates on social progress as one of the reasons for immigration (see example 9c). Other participants indicated that immigrants sheltered in the island, while fleeing from some problems on the mainland.

(9) a. Georgiana: When they opened the Free Port, all [Colombians] arrived […] We are overpopulated.
b. Felisha: There are more Continentals than Raizals. They have been here for a while and haven't gone.
c. Oliver: They [Colombians] see an opportunity for progress in San Andrés. They liked it and stayed.

Examples 10 a and b illustrate the opinions of the participants from Providencia. There was also some awareness of the Free Port as a historical period in which immigration increased, as suggested by Abraham's example (10a). The participants also acknowledged the role that OCCRE has played in the control of immigration (example 10a). Rick points to the isolation and lack of knowledge about the existence of Providencia (example 10b) as a reason for low immigration on that island.

(10) a. Abraham: [with] The Free port […] in 1956, the bulk of people arrived in San Andrés. Here in Providencia, the same thing did not happen. The OCCRE entered just in time to protect us.
b. Rick: Raizals [are the majority] some tourists even don't know that Providencia exists.

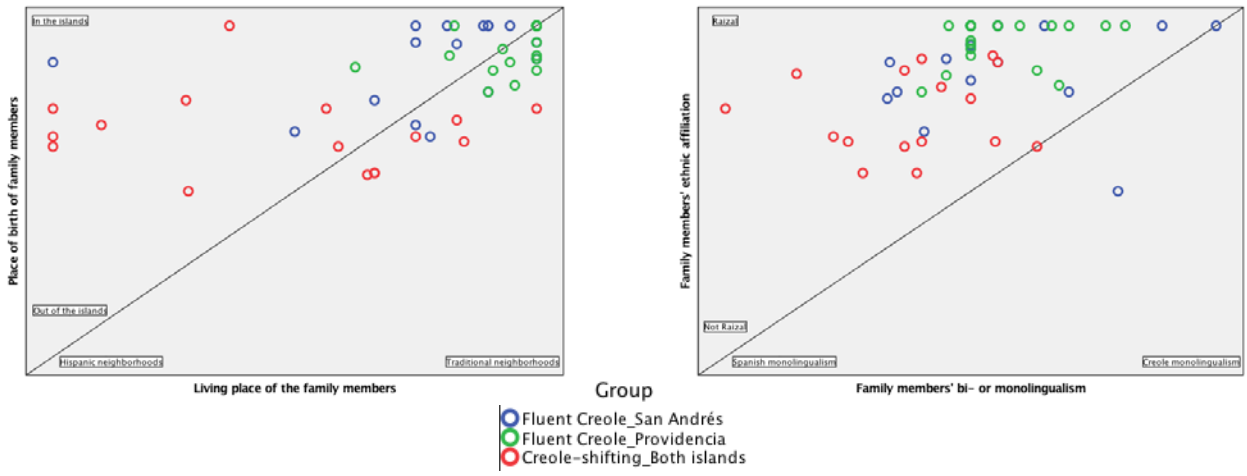
5.2.2 Family

Given that home is the primary setting of language transmission (see section 2.1.1), the participants' families are likely the primary networks for linguistic socialization. Therefore, specific features of the participants' families may be influential of the Creole EV. Figure 17 plots the place of birth and place of abode of the participants' families in the left panel, and ethnic affiliation and bi- or monolingual condition in the right panel. Each dot represents an average condition of each participant's family member, so it must be read as most but not all and not each of his/her family members. For example, a red dot close to the middle of the graph in the right panel means that most of the family members of a given participant from the Creole-shifting group are Creole-Spanish bilinguals, while some of them are Raizal and some of them are not.

As shown in the left panel in Figure 17, there was a contrast between the Creole-shifting participants (red dots) and the Fluent Creole speakers both from San Andrés (blue dots) and from Providencia (green dots). There were more family members from the Creole-shifting group living either in Hispanic-dominant neighborhoods from San Andrés such as Natania, Atlántico Norte, El Cocal, or outside of the islands. Similarly, there were more family members from this group who were born out of the islands, usually in Continental Colombia. On the contrary, most of the family members of the fluent Creole speakers were born in the islands and live in traditionally Raizal neighborhoods, such as San Luis, The Hill, or Cove in San Andrés or

elsewhere in Providencia. However, there were slightly more family members from San Andrés living in a Hispanic-dominant neighborhood. These data suggest that both place of birth and settling place of the family members might have been influential on the linguistic profile of the participants.

Figure 17. Family members' features

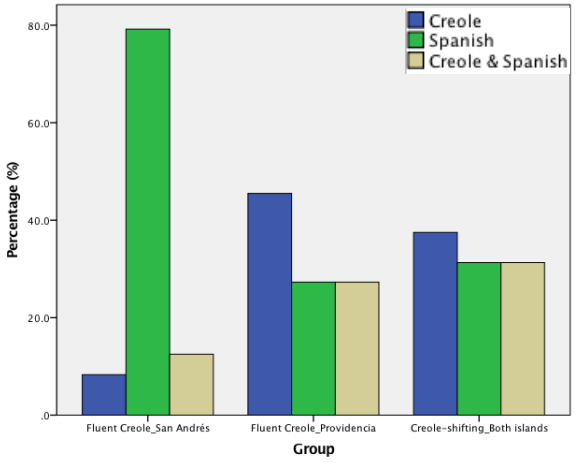


The right panel shows a similar contrast between the groups. In the Creole-shifting group, there were more family members who were Spanish monolinguals as compared to the families of the fluent Creole-speaking participants, who are mostly Spanish-Creole bilinguals. There were only a few family members from this latter group who were described as Creole monolinguals and they were usually some of the participants' grandparents. On the other hand, there were more family members from the Creole-shifting group who are not Raizal. This means that in the families of this group there were more exogamous relationships with outgroup members, usually Continental Colombians who are Spanish L1 speakers. These family ties might have had an impact on the relatively lower EV scores of these participants and were likely influential in the language shift process. Finally, there were slightly less Raizal ethnic affiliations among the family members of the fluent Creole-speaking participants from San Andrés than those from Providencia. This is due to the stronger presence of Spanish L1 speakers in San Andrés resulting in more exogamous marriage ties than Providencia, which was more endogamous, not necessarily as a preference, but likely because there are much fewer Spanish L1 speakers there.

5.2.3 Language

The participants' perceptions of their own proficiency, their language preferences and uses, and the social functionality of the languages were fundamental for the subjective EV. These perceptions do not have to align with their actual linguistic proficiency and language uses as they may under or overestimate them, but they are a good guide to the social pressures, personal experiences, and linguistic attitudes behind a given linguistic repertoire. Figure 18 plots the participants' responses to the question "What is the language that helps the most to succeed in the island?" Their answers are seemingly reflective of the perceived social pressures.

Figure 18. The language to succeed on the island



Among the fluent Creole speakers from San Andrés, Spanish was categorically chosen as the language to succeed in the island. Jackeline and Ulysess' example (11a) suggests that Spanish is perceived as a must to compete in the job market. Zack's narrative (example 11b) gave us a glance on the increasing demands of Spanish due to the progressive dependence on urban service providers and the administrative power in San Andrés.

(11) a. Jackeline: We are obligated to speak Spanish to get a job. They are the owners.

b. Zack: When I was a kid, Creole was the most important. We lived from coconut. We never used to go Town; some people only went in Veinte de Julio (July 20). Now everyone has to go there. All offices are Spanish speakers. You need to interact in offices and supermarkets. No one in these offices speak it [the Creole language].

In Providencia, the answers were scattered and Creole received more responses given the comparatively lower communicative demands of Spanish. Rick states that Creole is the language "that everybody speaks" (example 12a). Jazmine gave the same answer and she based her response on associations of Creole to feelings of confidence (example 12b), suggesting that people naturally feel more confortable speaking their native language. Abraham expresses a compromising position that acknowledges the social demands of using both Creole and Spanish, while downplaying radical positions (example 12c).

(12) a. Rick: [Creole] It is the only one that everybody speaks
b. Jazmine: Creole, we use it more because we feel more secure, confident.
c. Abraham: [The current] time compel us to use the two languages. You cannot be radicalized.

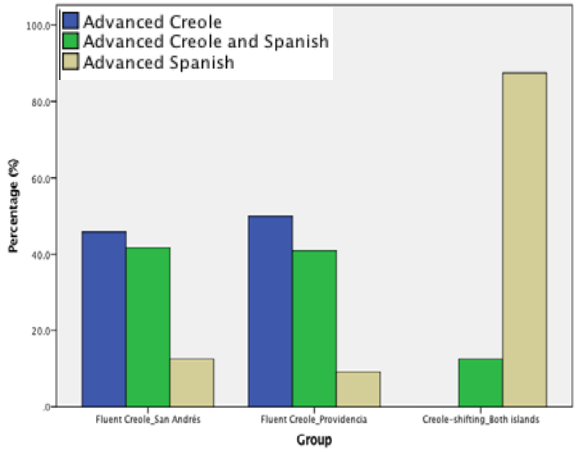
There was a nearly even distribution of responses in the Creole-shifting group and Creole received slightly more responses. It is possible that these participants want to foster their social networks with fluent Creole speakers, given that these networks appear to be weak, as shown in section 5.2.1.1. For example, Darleen acknowledges lacking communication tools to interact with those who do not speak Spanish (example 13a) and Kristine points to Creole as a plus to enjoying consideration from fellow islanders (example 13b). These answers suggest a perceived need for Creole to bridge with Creole speakers and enjoy its social benefits (e.g. ethnic solidarity), even though other factors may be favoring a higher use of Spanish in this group.

(13) a. Darleen: It [Creole] is important because sometimes I don't know how to express myself in Creole and not everyone speaks or understands Spanish
b. Kristine: Because in the Governor office, high ranked people are islanders. I arrive in the OCCRE; if you speak Spanish, they ignore you.

5.2.3.1 *Language performance*. The different social pressures to speak a language may or may not have an effect on the participants' proficiency self reports. For example, the Creole-shifting participants or their parents may have yielded a larger space for Spanish while giving up some Creole uses or lessening their proficiency in this language. Figure 19 shows the participants' self-report of advanced proficiency in Creole and/or in Spanish. Most of the Creole-shifting participants declared having mastered Spanish at advanced levels, while most of the fluent

Creole speakers declared having mastered Creole or both Creole and Spanish at advanced levels. There were a few participants from the latter group who reported to be advanced speakers of Spanish only. Their production tasks and language preference report suggest that they might have underestimated their performance in Creole. Some of these participants also declared to be advanced speakers of English, possibly forfeiting Creole. Similarly, there were a few participants from the Creole-shifting group who declared to be advanced speakers of both Creole and Spanish. These are cases of older adult participants who learnt Creole at home but happen to use more Spanish given their mixed family ties with Spanish L1 speakers and their interactions in school, work, and/or neighborhood settings that are densely populated by continentals.

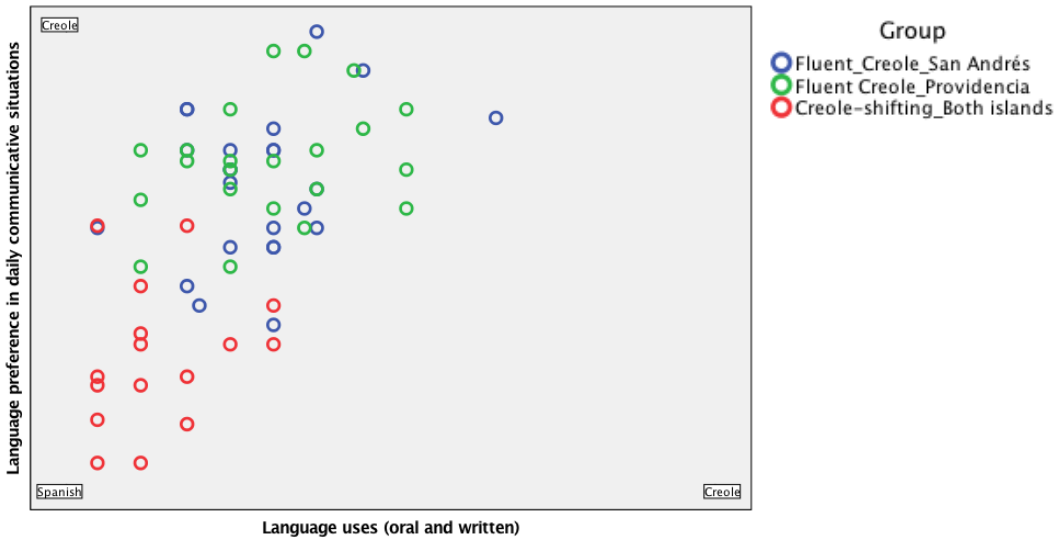
Figure 19. Language proficiency self-reports of advanced levels



5.2.3.2 *Language use and language preferences*. The perception of EV also relates to language preferences and uses in different social situations. Figure 20 shows the participants' language preferences on the Y-axis and some language uses on the X-axis. On language preferences (Y-axis), the participants indicated what language(s) they prefer to speak in a series of daily communicative situations such as party, playing, speaking with their partners, being angry, restraining their children (if any). The answers indicate the language(s) that the participants are likely to use in these situations. On language uses (X-axis), the participants indicate the language they actually use in a series of oral (listening to music, speaking informally in a private event) and written (reading newspaper, writing school papers, chatting) activities. Some of these activities imply literacy levels (e.g. writing school papers), the availability of certain materials (e.g. newspaper), and the circulation of these materials in the public sphere (e.g. mass media).

Thus, the Y-axis attempts to check on the languages of daily life, while the X-axis attempts to check on the public and literate languages.

Figure 20. Language preferences and language uses



Most of the Creole-shifting participants (red dots) reported preferring Spanish across all daily situations and using Spanish in each particular activity. The fluent Creole speakers from both San Andrés (blue dots) and Providencia (green dots) displayed a stronger preference for Creole in daily communicative situations (Y-axis), which are mostly in-group activities. Creole is also related to emotions, so Creole was always the preferred language when being angry, restraining children, and talking to one's partner. Haley's example (14) illustrates this point clearly as she states the use of Creole at home as a rule, including all home-related activities, such as restraining her children.

(14) Haley: That is one rule at home. All the time we talk Creole at home […] you need to restrain your children in Creole.

In these groups, Spanish is reserved for public or functional tasks out of the group, such as doing business. On the other hand, Spanish was mostly chosen across all groups for activities that involve some literacy levels or depend on the availability and circulation of language materials. This result relates to the fact that Creole is largely not written and suggests that the

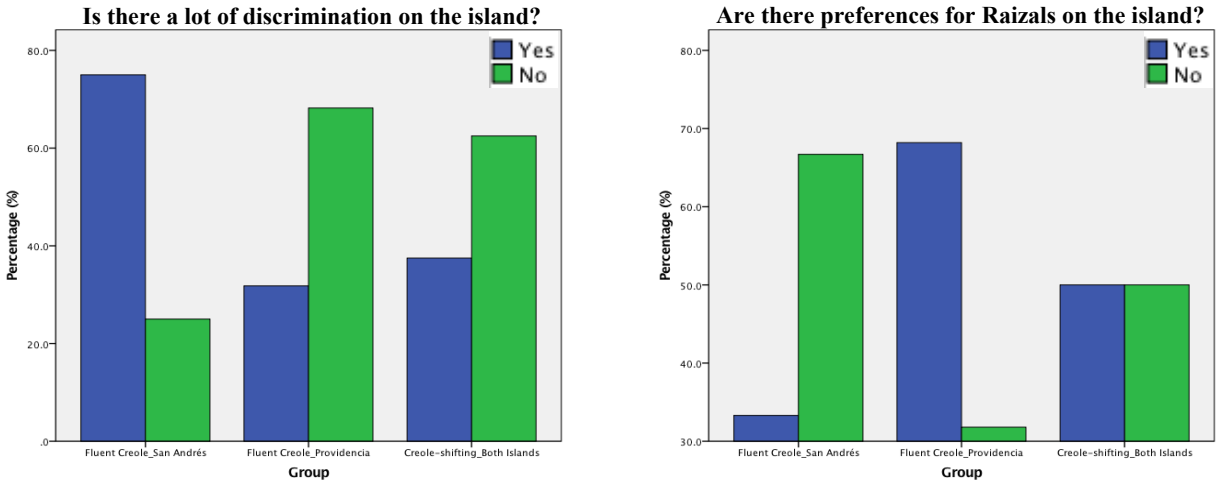
circulation of a few avaialable Creole texts among the participants was, at best, tiny. Indeed, Thomas states the existence of "very few materials" as the first stages of Creole writing (example 15a). Ulysses mentions some mass media spreading Creole texts (example 15b), even though these media have privileged English and left little space for Creole, as seen in section 1.2.5.5. There were also some reports of Creole being used for chatting in social networks such as WhatsApp and Facebook, as in Alice's example (15c). These possible uses would deserve a further study of its own, but overall it appears that Creole has had very few opportunities of being used in the public sphere. In fact, Alice points to some difficulties that Creole writing faces given the dominance of Spanish in the educational system. This is particularly important for the subjective EV given that a weak presence of Creole in the public sphere and the educational system may decrease its perceptions of vitality.

(15) a. Thomas: [There are] very few materials: Smiling Waves, Juan Ramirez one or two books, Creole dictionary, poem, small stories in Creole. People are starting on that.
b. Ulysses: We have the Isleño in Creole, Good News Radio sometimes in Creole and English.
c. Alice: When one chats, it is a problem. We learnt to write in Spanish, so we make it in Spanish but we say it in Creole. Sometimes you get confused.

5.2.4 Linguistic rights and social discrimination

The analysis from the previous section indicated a perception of a weak presence of Creole in the public sphere, which may be influential on the subjective EV. According to the Colombian law, the Creole speakers have rights to not being discriminated against due to their native language, receiving education and other services, and communicating in that language both in public and in private settings, orally and in written texts, without any restriction (Ministerio de Cultura, 2013). In this law, the Colombian government also commits to protect this and other native languages and foster their presence in the educational system, literacy, and the mass media. Nevertheless, linguistic rights are complex and they tie to larger dimensions of human rights, social interaction, and historical memory. These dimensions may be more influential on the subjective EV than the law alone, as the speakers may assess their rights in their day-to-day interactions using straight systems of costs and benefits. Figure 21 portrays the participants' perceptions of social discrimination (the left panel) and social preferences or benefits (the right panel).

Figure 21. Perceptions of social discrimination (left) and social preferences (right)



On discrimination, I asked the participants if there is a lot of discrimination against Raizals on the island. On preferences or benefits, I asked them if there is preferential treatment for Raizals on the island. The figure shows a categorical contrast between fluent Creole-speaking participants from San Andrés and those from Providencia. Nearly 80% of the participants from San Andrés indicated that there is a lot of discrimination on this island, while 70% stated the opposite in Providencia. Similarly, nearly 70% of the participants from Providencia stated that Raizals get preferences or social benefits over other populations on that island, while a similar percentage indicated that there are not such preferences in San Andrés. On discrimination, the Creole-shifting participants displayed a similar perception to that from Providencia, while showing an eclectic position on the perception of social benefits. These contrasts are very informative of the differences observed in the subjective EV and suggest that, for fluent Creole speakers, the lower the perception of linguistic rights the lower the subjective EV (San Andrés), and the higher the perception of social benefits the higher the perceived vitality or subjective EV (Providencia). This dimension might have had a different effect for the Creole-shifting group.

In order to understand the content of social discrimination and preferences, I also asked the participants for specific experiences of discrimination they might remember and for specific preferential treatments they think that they have received. Some of the questions targeted specific social domains such as school, labor, and housing. Table 40 exemplifies some of the participants' narratives both on discrimination and on social preferences from the fluent Creole-speaking group from San Andrés.

Table 40. Narratives of discrimination and preferences among fluent Creole speakers from San Andrés

Perceived social discrimination	Perceived social preferences
- Alice: In the School XY* they used to discriminate us for speaking Creole. - Felisha: Because I am black. In XY they don't want to work in groups with me, homework or something. - Loraine: I went to a store last month. […] The shopping store doesn't like to hire Raizal. They say, "¡esos negros, que no vayan a trabajar acá! [those blacks don't come to work here!]" - Zack: They don't want us to enter the beach […] thinking we are going to thief their things. Because of skin color. - Philip: Colombian laws have a lot of things to protect us but they don't remember […] they ignore it, they discriminate: "Go to these monkeys. Those monkeys from San Andrés."	- Becky: They gave us priority for being Raizal, in SENA, over the others. All Raizals who applied got admitted. - Oliver: Here at the National [University], there is a certain admission quota for Raizals. - Georgianna: Because I spoke English and Creole, they gave me my job. There are few people who speak English. - Michael: The commerce has respect for Raizals. In the banks there are preferences. It depends on the place. If the person is known, we Raizals are prompt to help. - Ralph: When […] playing baseball, they always make Islanders bat first because they have power.
** Proper names of institutions are omitted when their prestige can be compromised due to the participants' statements.*	

On discrimination, there are some examples in the school setting. Alice remembered being discriminated against in her school because she spoke Creole daily. In her narrative, she said that she and her friends were targeted for specific academic sanctions, as the teachers never knew "what they were saying." Felisha was segregated from group work and she relates this to her being black. Loraine's example illustrates discrimination in the job domain. Loraine points to a ban on hiring Raizal and her memories include crude remarks on skin color. Zack talks about discrimination in the use of the public space, as Raizals are related to stereotypical ideas of skin color. Finally, Philip provides us with an illustrative summary of how the fulfillment of rights is perceived among the participants from San Andrés: there are many Colombian protectionist laws, which however are overlooked and ignored.

On social preferences, Becky and Oliver acknowledge Raizals having priority in getting admission to educational institutions and Oliver points to a regular admission quota that is contingent upon an admission exam at the Universidad Nacional. Contrary to other participants' opinions, Georgianna stated having got her job as a preference choice based on her language skills. Michael highlights preferences and positive attitudes toward Raizals, even though this

seems to rely on intra-ethnic solidarity. Finally, Ralph points to sports as a different dimension, in which he perceives Raizals getting preferences due to their physical strength and performance.

Overall, this contrast of narratives indicates an apparent coexistence of specific discriminatory practices grounded on race and some recent benefits that target the ethnic minority. A further analysis indicated that this was the only dimension in which there was a significant difference between young and older adult participants from San Andrés: all adults (12/12) indicated that there is a lot of discrimination on the island but only half of the young adults (6/12) did the same. This suggests a possible shift in the perception of discrimination.

Table 41 exemplifies the narratives of the participants from the fluent Creole-speaking group from Providencia. On discrimination, Steve relays a mocking event on the base of language. Marylin and Rick pointed to some trends of discrimination among the Raizal group itself. Black Raizals are seemingly discriminated against by Raizals of lighter skin color. Rick reports the zoomorphisation of blacks as *black crabs* as a racist strategy. This strategy was seen also with metaphors of Raizals as *monkeys* in the examples from San Andrés. The participants from Providencia can easily point to the stereotypical geographical areas in which black and non-blacks are perceived to settle apart from each other. Last Steve's words summarize this point effectively: as he aligns location (Bottom House), skin color (darker), and bad behaviors.

Table 41. Narratives of discrimination and preferences among fluent Creole speakers from Providencia

Perceived social discrimination	Perceived social preferences
- Steve: At university they laugh at me because I speak like gringo. - Marylin: Some of the white Raizals discriminate the black Raizals. - Rick: They say that we are black crabs. They don't like black people. - Nathan: There is a time where a Bogotá woman called us thieves, gamines. - Steve: Bottom House. They are darker and behave bad than us.	- Elissa: For jobs, they always have to be Raizal. For study, SENA is only for those who have OCCRE […] If a continental comes, he can't. - Byron: The government has emphasized the islands. It has given the fishermen some stipends. - Darcey: Some discounts: 30% [off] in college tuition. Discount in flight tickets: In Providencia-San Andrés 165,000 [for] tourist, 105,000 Raizal; Catamarán: 80,000 tourist, 45,000 Raizal. - Belkis: Everywhere you go, Raizals get certain rights and receive help: university, hospital.

On social preferences, the participants from Providencia stated some similar benefits to those stated in San Andrés, such as exclusive admission in educational institutions, according to Elissa. Contrary to the San Andrés trend in the job domain, Elissa indicates that jobs are all for Raizal and Byron acknowledges some government benefits. Darcey points to specific discounts and money amounts, suggesting that she enjoys them. Finally, Belkis summarizes a social welfare perspective indicating that certain rights and help for Raizals are pervasive in different domains.

In all, the contrast between social discrimination and preferences in Providencia portrays a very different image to what was observed in San Andrés. There was a perceived welfare and social satisfaction on the participants' narratives from Providencia, which may be a factor in their relatively high subjective EV. Regarding this dimension, no difference was observed between young and older adults in this island, which suggests that the perceptions of welfare are allegedly extensive to both generations.

Table 42 exemplifies the narratives of the participants from the Creole-shifting group from both islands. On discrimination, Fanny emphasizes the perspective of discrimination on the base of color within the Raizal group and points to Bottom House as a specific settlement of black people. Kristine and Tanya stated having suffered some discrimination in the school and job domains, respectively, because they did not speak Creole or English. On the other hand, Albert seems to take a neutral position and indicates mutual discriminatory practices between in-group members (Raizals) and out-group people (Continental Colombians).

On preferences, Clark makes a general statement on the benefits that Raizal people can enjoy and he exemplifies some specific public institutions providing the preferences. Taking a reasoning stance, Fanny distances herself from the term *preferences* and prefers to talk about *minority rights*, pointing to a scholarship she got not because of any preference but because of the logic of her rights. Finally, Samantha talks about solidarity display among Raizals when speaking Creole.

Table 42. Narratives of discrimination and preferences among Creole-shifting participants

Perceived social discrimination	Perceived social preferences
- Fanny: People from Bottom House. Most of them have very dark skin. I don't know if the majority of slaves settled there. They also discriminate themselves. - Kristine: In the XY* school […] from islander women […] because I didn't speak Creole. - Tanya: In the XY hotel because I didn't know how speak English well, I didn't pass. - Albert: There is a back and forward from both sides. Both discriminate. [It is said] that Raizals want everything, that only Reggae. Taxi drivers are only Raizals.	- Clark: We have protection. They have to consult us [in any intervening project on the islands] […] Botanic Gardens [there are] preferences by law. Governor office: it is also necessary to speak Creole. - Fanny: Jobs are for Raizals. I don't see it as a preference; it is just logic […] We have rights because we are a minority. A scholarship after the Haya Court ruling […] I got one. - Samantha: I started speaking Creole and so they looked after me better.
** Proper names of institutions are omitted when their prestige can be compromised due to the participants' statements.*	

Overall, the contrast of discrimination and preferences in the Creole-shifting group portrays a different perspective from the fluent Creole-speaking participants. Creole-shifting participants appear to take some distance from the discriminatory situations and they assess these situations as third persons from a neutral position. In Fanny and Albert's examples on discrimination, they appear as outsiders and critical observers. There are other statements in which they represent themselves as insiders, as in Kristine and Tanya's narratives on specific discriminatory episodes against them, and in Samantha's statement on solidarity. These different perspectives may be informative of the complex nature of ethnic identities and language ideologies from participants who are part of the ethnic group but who are shifting in variable degrees to Spanish or have already shifted to this language. These ideologies will be studied in chapter 6.

5.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have made a twofold analysis of the subjective EV: reports of language use and subjective EV scores. On language use reports, I identified three patterns. First, Creole was reported as the most frequent language by the fluent Creole-speaking participants from both islands for all possible interlocutors, except for tourists. Second, Spanish was reported as the most frequent language by the Creole-shifting participants and for all interactions with tourists. Third, both Creole and Spanish were reported as the most frequent language by similar proportions of participants among young adults for interactions with neighbors and friends, among the Creole-shifting participants from San Andrés for interactions with their parents, and among older adults for interactions with neighbors. Among the fluent Creole speakers, Creole was reported as the most frequent language at home, while decreasing in other domains.

On the subjective EV scores, the responses of the fluent Creole-speaking participants yielded subjective EV scores that are positive (above 2 on a 3-point scale) both on San Andrés and on Providencia, even though they were significantly higher in Providencia. The responses of the Creole-shifting participants from both islands yielded negative EV scores (below 2 in a 3-point scale) and these scores were significantly lower than that for the fluent Creole speakers both from San Andrés and from Providencia. These differences were explained by the composition of the scores across different dimensions of assessment: (1) ethnic identification and social networks, (2) family, (3) language, and (4) linguistic rights and social discrimination. Of those, (1) ethnic identification and social networks and (4) linguistic rights and social discrimination were the most contrastive for the fluent Creole speakers from San Andrés and Providencia. This was because the social networks were more densely populated by Raizals in Providencia and there were more perceptions of social discrimination and lack of social and linguistic rights in San Andrés. The Creole-shifting participants scored the lowest in all these dimensions but especially in discrimination and social and linguistic rights, probably because this dimension might have been less relevant for them, as they are shifting or have already shifted to Spanish.

6.0 CHAPTER 6: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND THE PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGES

The previous chapter presented the results on the subjective EV. The present chapter provides an answer to the third research question: What are the underlying ideologies behind the Creole EV? In order to answer this question, I used varied sources of information to provide me with insights on the participants' ideologies and their perception of languages. This included more details from the participants' responses to the Qualitative EV interview (see section 3.1.2.3), a series of discussion sessions (see section 3.2.2.2), a group-based open-ended perception task (which was the last part of each discussion session), and the refined matched-guise perception study (see section 3.2.2.2). With that information, I approach EV from an emic viewpoint, with the purpose of providing a comprehensive account of the complex, multifaceted ideologies behind language use, interethnic perceptions, emotional attachment to the languages, and language shift motivations of my participants. This approach further grounds the subjective EV discussed in chapter 5 and complements the objective EV presented in chapter 4, given that it presents the perspectives of the Creole speakers and gives them voice.

6.1 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideologies are heteregenous representations, beliefs, or ideas about languages (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 198). As discussed in section 2.2.2.1, they may relate to the speech itself, the social structures, and the practices carried out by their speakers (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). For example, a given linguistic variety may be represented as incorrect, while its speakers are represented as lazy, their social practices as chaotic, and their social institutions as precarious. The relationship between these ideologies is not simple, as a language, a speaker, a social

practice, or a social institution can carry multiple and complex representations. For example, a language can be represented as authentic but powerless. These ideological representations are related to different perspectives that are not mutually exclusive: the perspective of ethnic solidarity for 'authentic' and the economic perspective for 'powerlessness'.

The importance of language ideologies for the EV theory rests on the fact that language ideologies can foster stereotypical statements about the languages or their speakers, for example that Creoles are 'imperfect' or 'broken' varieties of their lexifiers (Milroy, 2000, p. 73). These stereotypical statements may contribute to diminish a language and that diminishment can be seen as a natural, expected, or unavoidable process. On the other hand, language ideologies may also help awakening processes in which speakers of a language remain loyal due to ideologies of ethnic authenticity, social cohesion, and cooperation, despite compelling circumstances (Kroskrity, 1998, pp. 104-105).

For the investigation of language ideologies, I used discourse evidence from two main sources: (1) the EV interview whose results were presented in detail in the previous chapter, and (2) a series of in-group discussion sessions that I carried out on both islands. As described in the methods section (chapter 3), the information from these sources is abundant as it includes 64 EV interviews of 32 questions and their follow-up questions (73 hours of audio recordings) and 31 discussion sessions with 19 questions and 252 responses in total (25 hours of video recordings).

In the analysis, I focused on participants' ostensible ideological statements that are beyond the patterns described in section 5.2 and consistent across different participants. For example, '*I always try to speak standard English*', '*I only use complete English words*', '*I speak broken English*', '*I speak English English*' suggesting different ideologies such as: '*There is a standard English or English English*' and/or '*there is a non-standard variety that is a broken English or not English English*' and so on. Rather than labeling categories, I used participants' narratives that are highly expressive and epitomize shared ideologies, with the understanding of narratives as rationalizations of experiences that give sense to the participants' world (De Fina & Johnstone, 2015, p. 152). This procedure aims to emphasize the participants' emic perspectives, assuming that speakers can best express their own thoughts.

The first section (6.1.1), *the narratives of language*, analyzes the ideologies related to the speech itself. Here I analyze what the participants say about their languages (Creole, Spanish, English) and what ideological perspectives they inform about those varieties. The second section

(6.1.2), *Interethnic discordance*, focuses on statements about the relationships between Raizals and continental Colombians. In this section, I analyze how the participants represent the out-group and how this informs the subjective EV. The third section (6.1.3), *EV modes*, analyzes the different modalities of the subjective EV for fluent Creole-speaking participants from both islands. In this section I analyze the display of emotional attachment to the languages and the ethnic group. The last section (6.1.4), *Language shift motivations*, analyzes individual motivations on language-shift and language use among the participants from the Creole-shifting group. The four sections complement each other and provide comprehensive insights into the subjective EV.

6.1.1 The narratives of language

"*When Morgan time, […] him bring the African people in the island of San Andrés, and this island of Providence was the people dem, like from England, you know, […] so, de españoles dem, when dem come here, […] fi dem couldn't understand we, we just have to make a language, invent a language fi dem couldn't understand we, so that's why we have the Creole.*"

(Nathan, 2015, EV interview)

Nathan's epigraf synthetizes a popular version of the emergence of Islander Creole. Given the sociohistorical background in section 1.2.1, in this section, I will not discuss this quoation from a historical perspective but from the ideological perspectives it shows about the languages spoken in the islands. These ideologies are heterogenous representations of the languages and their speakers (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498) and they are sometimes contradictory, but they all circulate in the islands as expression of different social forces behind the languages.

The quotation brings together seven key aspects of the language ideologies circulating in the islands: *Morgan, African people, England, the españoles (the Spanish people), the Islands of San Andrés and Providencia, the Creole,* and *'we'* –the Creole speakers. Henry Morgan is proudly praised in Providencia for his military campaigns from Jamaica, as reminiscent of the connections of the islands to the rest of the Caribbean. African people and England are related to the earliest colonists and Nathan assigns them different locations in the islands: Africans in San Andrés and English in Providencia. The Spanish people are presented as newcomers, Creole is

described as a defensive response against them, and Creole speakers are presented as active creators of the language. These elements will be seen as catalysts of multiple language ideologies that I will summarize relying on the speakers' voices.

In the EV interview, I asked Nathan "What can be Creole useful for?" I wanted to inquire about his attachment to the language and language use motivations and he provided me with a historically grounded answer. The first ideological component that I want to highlight in his answer is the idea of Creole being used as a secret language. Other participants also provided me with similar responses, for example, Felisha: "para que no entiendan otros (*for other people not to understand*)." Erin elaborated on the advantages that Creole speakers have on intelligibility over English speakers (example 16).

(16) Discussion session 3-Fragment A-San Andrés (San Luis)

[1] *((1:59))* Erin: Creole is… is a native language […] We can understand an American or a British person, in
[2] certain ways, but a British or American hardly can understand whatever we are, we are saying in Creole.

The ideology of Creole as a creation to promote unintelligibility for outsiders is fostered by the speakers' explanations of how they speak. Most of my participants say that they 'cut' words from English, as can be seen in example (17) from Philip. Certainly, a Creole is not fully explained by Philip's argument and the speakers might not be aware of it unless they are in contact with English, but the important ideological component is that of twisting linguistic elements to strive for (un)intelligibility.

(17) Discussion session 8-Fragment A-San Andrés (SENA)

[1] *((17:36))* Philip: Un ejemplo facilito: […] *gi me dat bokle of wata*. *Gi me* viene […] de inglés *give me*. […]
[2] O sea, ajá, cortamos algunas palabritas o las mezclamos: *gi me* (pause) *dat* (pause) *dat bokle* (pause) *of*
[3] (pause) *wata*: g*i me dat bokle of wata*. O sea, en vez de decir *water* uno dice *wata*. O sea acortamos.
(A pretty easy example: […] *gi me dat bokle of wata. Gi me* comes […] from the English *give me* […] so, yep, we cut some little words or we mix them: *gi me* (pause) *dat* (pause) *dat bokle* (pause) *of* (pause) *wata: Gi me dat bokle of wata* 'give me that bottle of water'. So, instead of saying *water*, one says *wata*. So, we shorten (words)).

Another component of the speaker (un)intelligibility is the idea of *tone*. Nathan describes Creole as 'heavy' and Adeline describes it as *golpiado* 'beaten' (example 18). Heavy and

golpiado are descriptors of the Creole intonation and relates to sentence stress and the emphasis/pronunciation given to certain words in a given Creole utterance (e.g. How yuh *deh*? 'How are you?'). This perceived intonation gives a characteristic rhythm to the language, which is hard to mimic for non-Creole speakers. Adeline (example 18) compares this intonation with the accent of *champetudos*, a pejorative term for Colombians from the Northern Coast, a significant Colombian population in San Andrés.

(18) Discussion seession 1-Fragment A-Providencia (SENA)

[1] *((2:37))* Adeline: You have some people talk Spanish and some talk it *golpiado* (beaten). […] We talk the
[2] English like that, we talk the English *golpiado* […] like how the champetudo dem (the champetudos) talk,
[3] is just something similar.

Beyond the idea of a secret language, Creole is more generally described as an ethnic belonging, the native language, and the mother tongue. Vincent states the use of Creole as compulsory and part of the Raizal identity: "The Creole is the mother tongue […] part of our identity. You have to speak it if you are real, true Raizal." Vincent's response depicts Creole as a language that Raizals own, defines themselves, sets their ethnic boundaries, and makes them ethnically distinctive. In the interviews and discussion groups, the participants frequently used the possessive 'our' as an adjective of the nouns *language* and *Creole*, displaying their attachment to the language as a collective belonging with historical memory: "that is our language" (Leslie, 2016, EV interview), "our Creole has the root in English and African languages" (Vincent, 2016, EV interview).

The connection between this collective attachment and the display of linguistic boundaries to outsiders is well summarized by Erin's statement on the possibility of non-Raizals learning Creole (example 19). Erin portrays the Creole language as the last Raizal belonging given the overwhelming presence of Continental Colombians in San Andrés and the severe effects it has had on the Raizal community. She predicts that allowing outsiders to pass linguistic boundaries would mean the surrender to the intentions of others.

(19) Discussion session 3-Fragment B-San Andrés (San Luis)

[3] *((12:54))* Erin: I seh (say), If they [non-Raizals] know our language, what they would do? […] they would
[4] know everything about us, so they can use us like how they want.

The idea of the Creole language as a collective belonging with identity functions is further complicated and layered with other ideologies that I will present in the next sections. These ideologies are presented in the form of speakers' narratives, reproducing their own words, opinions, and explanations about the languages. These narratives are related to the categories presented in section 2.2.2.1, but the narratives surpass the theoretical categories as they bring local values (e.g. authenticity) with intricate connections to the dimensions of quality and status of speech, communication means, and the ideologies about speech purity, among others.

6.1.1.1 *If you're speaking fast, you switch*. Code-switching in the islands belongs to representations of a versatile multilingual community whose members are wittily prompt to display their linguistic skills when facing different communicative situations. The heading of this section reproduces part of George's response to my question about his proficiency levels in the languages he speaks. As with most of my participants, George declared to be Creole-English-Spanish trilingual and he declared to speak Creole and English every time and at advanced levels, while speaking Spanish rarely and at an intermediate level. He elaborated on his linguistic skills and on a frequent code switching that is sensitive to the situation (example 20).

> (20) George: I have the advance (advantage) to work on a passenger ship and that is the reason why […] I can speak my almost a perfect English […] but, as I tell you, if I speak with another islanders, sometime I will [go] from the good English to the Creole. It is just something go and come […] if you're speaking fast and with a friend, <<yeah, eh, yeah man, I gaan lang, I gwain come back *('yes, eh, yes man, I left a long ago, I am going to come back')*>> (EV interview, 2016).

In chapter 2, I introduced code switching as commonplace in language contact settings (Gardner-Chloros, 2012, pp. 188-207). This is one of the key features that the participants state as characteristic of the Raizal community. As in many other Creole communities, Raizals have historically faced communication demands, either with the earliest British colonists, the emerging middle class of slave masters' descendants from the 19th Century, and the most recent increasing numbers of Spanish speakers. Their exposure to social systems that installed English or Spanish as the languages of church and education has encouraged them to expand their linguistic repertoire. Therefore, Creole does foster ethnic solidarity among Raizals and display ethnic boundaries to outsiders, but such functions are layered with the compelling need to

communicate with outsiders. Edwards et al (1975, p. 310), for example, identified an ample set of varieties and speech styles in which Islanders are able to move according to the social situation.

This linguistic versatility has clung as part of the Raizal identity as effectively summarized by Alice (example 21). Alice's statement is informative as she presents bilingualism as a strategy to face the demands of education. She assumes that she and Raizals in general stored information in three different folders, one for each language (Creole, Spanish, and English). She also elaborates on this versatility as an explanation for a frequent code switching.

(21) Alice: En San Andrés […] el isleño Raizal lo que hace es asumir […] tres carpetas diferentes […] uno asume cada enseñanza, uno no traduce la enseñanza […] Por eso nosotros switcheamos tanto. (EV interview, 2016)
(In San Andrés […] what the Raizal Islander does is to assume […] three different folders […] one assumes each teaching, one doesn't translate the teaching […] That is why we switch a lot)

6.1.1.2 *When I speak to an adult person, the Creole I speak is much purer*. How the speakers represent the linguistic repertoire across the different social levels of the islands is another component of the ideologies of language. The participants usually related either English or a 'pure', 'uncorrupted' and 'pretty' Creole to the older generations while relating vernacular, mixed, and 'corrupted' varieties to the youngsters. This representation of the linguistic repertoire in the social setting is important given that the speech of the elderly is taken as a reference point for islander speech, while downplaying the youngsters' speech. This contrast can be seen in Bradley's statement (example 22) from which I extracted the title for this section.

(22) Discussion session 1-Fragment A-San Andrés (Universidad Nacional de Colombia)
[1] *((50:30))* Bradley: Cuando yo voy a hablar con una persona adulta, el ingle.. el Creole que yo hablo es un
[2] Creole mucho más puro o más, e… digamos e… similar a un inglés británico que cuando lo hablo con un
[3] joven. Cuando lo hablo con una persona joven, e… yo me descomplico, no, no me refino tanto como lo voy
[4] a hacer con, con una persona adulta.
(When I am going to speak to an adult person, the Engl.. the Creole I speak is much purer or more, m… let's say, m… similar to a British English than when I speak to a youngster. When I speak to a young person, m… I take it easy, I don't, I don't refine myself as much as I would do with an adult person).

Bradley is a 36 year old Creole speaker living in a traditional Raizal neighborhood of San Andrés, where he has spent most of his life. He studied and earned a college degree in continental Colombia and he currently works as a college instructor in San Andrés. Bradley's statement contains different pieces of relevant information. First, he shows a deliberate effort to refine his speech when speaking to adults, and that speech is represented as similar to British English. By heritage, England and the British culture and language are often taken as proxies for the Raizal community: "roots are from British" while Creole is often labeled as English: "anytime we say English as Creole" (Elliot, 2015, EV interview). Given that some older adults were educated in English (Ross, 2000, p. 351) and they have been more exposed to this language through education and church, their speech is allegedly assumed to be English or closer to an English model than that from the youngsters, who have been educated in Spanish, as described by Adeline (example 23).

(23) Discussion seession 1-Fragment B-Providencia (SENA)

[4] *((14:45))* Adeline: "The elders dem (the elders), dem (they) speak English, the correct English in their

[5] home […]. They talk a better English than what we talk."

The second important component from Bradley's statement is that of relaxing his speech when speaking Creole with young people (example 22-line 3). His statement may relate firstly to a range of informal speech styles that appear to emerge as expressions of solidarity and camaraderie in interactions, which are not subject to hierarchical structures (Edwards et al., 1975, pp. 310-311) or to the authority of the elders. Secondly, Bradley's statement also ties to the assumption that the youngsters are mixing Creole with Spanish. In the same discussion, Bradley also states Spanish mixing as a source of different forms that make the youngsters' speech allegedly different from the elders' model (example 24).

(24) Discussion session 1-Fragment B-San Andrés (Universidad Nacional de Colombia)

[5] *((3:00))* Bradley: Muchos jóvenes lo están hablando pero le están incluyendo el español. Es decir, vamos

[6] hablando y le vamos metiendo eso que llaman el, el Spanglish. Aquí sería algo como Creolespa..

[7] Creolespañol, algo así. Lo estamos mezclando.

(A lot of young people are speaking it [Creole] but they are including Spanish on it, so we are speaking and we are putting on it the so-called Spanglish. Here, it would be CreoleSpa.. Creole-Spanish, something like that. We are mixing it.)

In all, Bradley's statement suggests a contrastive tension between the elders' speech, taken as models of purity in the language, and the youngsters' speech, represented as less pure and contaminated with alien features. The participants usually remember their parents and other family members correcting their speech. Carlee, for example (25a) mentions her uncle's corrections toward standardized forms that follow the English models. Today, the adults are not short of criticism of the youngsters' speech in relation to both the use of non-standard English forms and the use of Spanish. Kasandra (example 25a) complains about the use of the demonstrative *dat* instead of the voiced interdental initial form, such as *bring* ***th****at bag,* and other Creole forms such as *fi mi* instead of the corresponding English *for me*. In Example (25b) Deborah complains about the youngsters using Spanish utterances (*buenos días* 'good morning') instead of available Creole forms (*good maaning*), even when addressing other Creole speakers.

(25a) Discussion session 2-Fragment A-Providencia (Town)

[1] *((8:20))* Carlee: I have an uncle that [is a] teacher and we couldn't say nohing wrong in front of him,
[2] because he will beat you, "that's not the way!" […] and correct you and tell you must seh (say) correctly
[3] *((9:39))* Kasandra: The bway dem (the boys) when they meet with one another dem (they) deh staat talking
[4] […] the way of talking "bring dat dat fi mi, dash dat, push dat"

(25b) Discussion session 3-Fragment A-Providencia (Bottom House)

[1] *((13:25))* Deborah: De piknini come back, dem talk Spanish. […] They come ya just deh: "¡Quiubo
[2] parce!", and you know […] Fi we is… fi we it sound ordinary, you understand? […] If you go to a meeting,
[3] dem begin talk Spanish: "Buenos días." […] And de whole place is full of Raizal people. And dem no knuo
[4] fi seh: "Good maaning" or "Good die"

(The children come back speaking Spanish […] They come just here: ¡Quiubo parce! 'what's up, dude!', and, you know […] for us, it is… for us, it sounds ordinary, did you understand? […] If you go to a meeting, they begin speaking Spanish: Buenos días 'good morning' […] and the whole place is full of Raizal people and they don't know how to say, good maaning 'good morning' or good die 'good morning').

6.1.1.3 *The Creole in Providence is more respectable*. I found a pervasive narrative that the Creole from Providencia is better, purer, more conservative, traditional, and respectable than the Creole from San Andrés. In the EV interview, Elliot, an older adult participant from Providencia, was contrasting the youngsters from both islands in terms of their attitudes to Creole and the use of the language. Regarding San Andrés, he expresses his frustration when addressing islanders in San Andrés and being replied to in Spanish, whereas those from Providencia "would respect dem

language (=their language) and […] talk […] mostly Creole". Then, he concludes that "here in Providencia […] the Creole language […] is more, more respectable." Here, the speaker elaborates on respectability as a rationale of deference and prestige relying on cultural values as discussed by Wilson in his early work on Providencia (1973, pp. 98-105).

The participants from both islands usually coincide in this rationale of prestige as it also infers downplaying the San Andrés variety. For example, in his argument of speech purity, Bradley also states that the Creole from Providencia is purer than that from San Andrés (example 26). As in the narrative of the older adults' speech, the ideological model of Providencian speech appears to rely on some sort of perceived proximity to the English language and the participants assign it descriptors of smoothness, completeness, and clarity. The less strong effects of the Spanish incursion and the more successful retention of cultural traditions in Providencia have likely contributed to this narrative of purity and conservativeness in the speech.

(26) Discussion session 1-Fragment C-San Andrés (Universidad Nacional de Colombia)

[8] *((3:22))* Bradley: Diferente a Providencia […] donde toda una comunidad habla Creole y es un Creole que
[9] se asemeja mucho al inglés británico, es un inglés más, es, es un Creole más, digámoslo así, más puro, con
[10] menos, con menos contracciones, con menos formas de pronunciar las palabras como tan fuertes.
(Different from Providencia […] where a whole community speaks Creole, and it is a Creole that is much more alike the British English […] it is an English more, it is, it is a Creole more, let's say, purer, with less contractions, with less ways of pronouncing the words so strongly).

This model is, however, challenged at times. For example, Edna made a case against the Providencian model and mocked Providencian speech (example 27). In brief, she states that, by trying to approach the English model, Providencians overuse English morphology and sometimes combine it with Creole markers, yielding redundacy. Similarly, other participants, such as Alice, challenge the idea of Providencia as a cultural model and describe Providencians as provincial and wild.

(27) Discussion session 9-San Andrés (Barrack)

[1] ((10:05)) Edna: Well, they don't conjugate verbs [laughter]
[2] Investigator: They don't? […]
[3] Edna: They do like *I did was*. They use *did* and *was*.
[4] Jeane: I was deh

[5] Edna: *I was deh*. They use the marker but with the *was* and the *deh*, they abuse of it. They abuse of the *did*,
[6] they abuse of the *was*, they abuse of the *will,* and we like, really? *I will go, I will do*. Oh no, oh Lord!

6.1.1.4 *The Creole is not from here*. The negation of Creole or its relegation to an ideologically inferior status is another important circulating ideology in the islands. When I asked Kasandra in the EV interview about her language skills in the Creole language she answered: "the Creole is not from here, we from Providencia always try to speak English; the Creole is from San Andrés." She also declares English as her mother tongue and states being able to express herself better in this language. Her argument elaborates on Creole as the language of others: "people in the street" and "from San Andrés." She later states not knowing Creole and says that it "is a language that we haven't accepted yet, not in the school, not in the community." In the discussion group, she and her fellow participant agree on the depletion of Creole and highlight that they speak *broken English* (example 28).

(28) Discussion session 2-Fragment B-Providencia (Town)
[5] *((1:09))* Carlee: When we seh (say) Creole, I have a doubt of what we mean to seh (say) […] that because I
[6] can say that we speak English, we speak a broken English, but we speak English. […]

In example (29), these participants reject the term Creole as a recent arrival (lines 7-8). They assign some descriptors of incorrectness to their speech (lines 10-11) and state that, regardless of that, they still speak English. They later made an astute argument on linguistic variation and intelligibility between different English dialects: American vs British, different parts of the US (lines 13-17), and Spanish dialects. They finally concluded by asking why not say they speak English if there is linguistic variation across different languages and still those speakers declare those varieties as their own. The participants' arguments rely on the right to have a language, ideal representations of linguistic correctness cultivated by their families, and the values of the English education they received.

(29) Discussion session 2-Fragment C-Providencia (Town)
[7] *((2:25))* Kasandra: As how my companion seh (say), we don't know what is Creole. *O sea*, it is just
[8] recently, maybe something like two or three years, […] in San Andrés […] they bring that discussion of the
[9] Creole and dem seh (they say) they want to teach Creole. All the time we used to teach English […] that is
[10] what we learned, maybe we don't speak the English like the American dem (Americans), but incorrect and

[11] with a tone, […] but […] I think we talk good English, not perfect English, but you talk. We talk it better
[12] than San Andrés.
[13] Carlee: And a next thing is that […] everywhere speak different. If you put an American and English man
[14] to speak, maybe sometimes they don't understand each other beca' you have different tone, you have
[15] different ways of speaking and so, you have different words. […] Even in the United States, you have some
[16] part that speak very deep […]
[17] *((32:00))* If they say they speak Spanish, why wouldn't say we speak English?

Similar arguments are made by Valentine, a much younger participant from Providencia who was not educated in English but stated having learned English at home from his mom. Although he also acknowledges having learned Creole at home, he declared English as his first language given that "we use the English words completely." In the EV interview, he also rejects the term Creole and says, "It is known as broken English. I don't like the term *Creole*. It is too rustic. They can come out with a better term. It is also recent." When I asked him for a description of Creole, he says that it is "not even a language, not a total language" and describes Creole speech as "it goes down in the rustic way you talk English." In the example (30), he characterizes Creole as "just a dialect" of English. His description downplays ideologically the status of islander speech as a subordinate variety of English.

(30) Discussion seession 1-Fragment C-Providencia (SENA)
[6] *((19:58))* This is just a dialect that descend from an English.

6.1.1.5 *When we speak Spanish or ina English, we sound fake*. Marilyn and Deborah, who live in Bottom House (Providencia), make a case against the authenticity of Raizals speaking a language other than Creole. Marylin is a traditional healer and a storyteller who has coauthored a couple of books written in Creole. Deborah is a cultural activist who has led different projects on cultural awareness and the preservation and diffusion of the Raizal culture. As residents of Bottom House, they have been exposed to stereotypical ideas that characterize Bottom House residents as the darkest, descendants from African slaves, troublemakers, and vernacular speakers. Marylin cities an example (31) of a Raizal woman who denies the Creole language and claims to speak English and she argues that that woman actually speaks Creole "just like we (us)."

(31) Discussion session 3-Fragment B-Providencia (Bottom House)

[4] *((7:54))* Marylin: Dem seh dem (they say they) talk English because I know a lady named XY, she seh
[5] (say) she don't talk Creole, and she talk like we, so I don't know what she talking. She talk just like we.

Deborah argues that those who claim to speak English are denying their language and rejecting Creole as a distinctive variety as they are afraid of people's comments (example 32). Her argument is important because it brings the values of ethnic authenticity against an alleged distribution of the linguistic repertoire on the basis of social status: English for those from Town, who are allegedly avant-guard, educated, and in the top of the social scale, and Creole for the rest. As a response to these ideological structures, Deborah calls into question the authenticity of those who pretend to speak Spanish or English and scorns them with descriptors of linguistic embarrassment, fear, mixed blood (not totally Raizal), and sounding fake. She acknowledges the importance of speaking English as an additional language but rejects that this language should come at the expense of the Creole language, which according to her, should not be denied.

(32) Discussion session 3-Fragment C-Providencia (Bottom House)

[6] *((10:42))* Deborah: They don't accept that they speak Creole […] They are denying […] their language
[7] because of what people may say […] They have mix blood. They think that the traditional things are set
[8] aside and think so […] They think they are *a la vanguardia* (avant-guard), they have to speak English and
[9] they have to […] follow up societies rules and all those things. I's good, it's good yes, to speak English
[10] because it is a next (another) language you can handle yourself with but you shouldn't deny your Creole.
[11] *((15:33))* Sometimes it may be difficult fi we (for us) talk Spanish, sometime it may be difficult fi we (for
[12] us) seh (say) the right word at the right time ina (in) English. When we deh talk (are speaking) Creole, we
[13] no worry about dem the tings (the things), because full Creole come out naturally. When we speak Spanish
[14] or ina (in) English, we sound fake.

6.1.1.6 *Come here!* or *Come ya!* The two following fragments of discussion sessions in Providencia are illustrative of two different perspectives on the utterance *Come ya!* 'Come here!' As previously shown, Carlee and Kasandra, who live in Town and Old Town, respectively, say they were educated in English. They were subject to linguistic correction from their families, and hold strong representations of their speech as an English variety, while depicting the Creole language as a belonging to others, the youngsters, the street, and San Andrés Island. They

scorned *Come ya!* as inappropriate, given that it does not follow the English paradigms, while promoting *Come here!* as the right and the expected form (example 33a-left panel).

Come here!

(33a) Discussion session 2-Fragment D-Provid. (Town)

[18] *((7:12))* Carlee: I don't sure if this is from, from
[19] Bottom House or from San Andrés but we seh
[20] (say),*Come here!*
[21] Kasandra: Dem seh, *come ya!* (they say: *come ya!*)
[21] Carlee: Dem seh, *come ya!* and things like that
[laughter]

Come ya!

(33b) Discussion session 3-Fragment D-Prov. (B. House)

[15] *((7:22))* Deborah: If you go Town, you seh (say),
[16] *– Come ya!*
[17] *– Stop saying "come ya!"* […] *It's "come here!"*
[18] You know. So, <u>they are trying to correct us and</u>
[19] <u>giving us</u> <u>English when we talk Creole</u> […]
[20] so they are just like she <u>did come from the Big Town</u>
[21] <u>to seh (say) "*Come ya!*"</u>, you know.
[22] *((12:30))* I feel that is good thing to develop the
[23] English and to talk it a proper way, e… but it is not
[24] like: "*oh, I speak English and <u>I am up here</u> and, you*
[25] *know, <u>I am educated</u>, and you deh talk (you are*
[26] *speaking) <u>your ordinary Creole</u> and dat no tek*
[27] *and dat no understand no* (that does not count and is
[28] not understandable)," you know. Sometimes I seh
[29] (say) <u>they are ridiculous</u>! [laughter]

Deborah and Marilyn, on the other hand, also received some education in English and were exposed to some linguistic correction from their families, but they hold strong representations of Creole as an independent language from English. Their settlement in the traditional Bottom House has likely fostered their attachment to the Creole language. For them, *Come ya!* is the natual expression in Creole and they reject the imposition of the English *Come here!,* which appears to be 'ridiculous' and pretentious for them (example 33b-right panel).

Come ya! and *Come here!,* as seen in the two discussion sessions (33a-b), are emblematic expressions belonging to different representations of linguistic systems depending on the participants' perspectives. For Carlee and Kasandra, *Come ya!* is rejected as a substitute vernacular of the English *Come here!* For Deborah and Marilyn, *Come ya!* and *Come here!* belong to distinctive linguistic systems and, therefore, none is substitutable for the other. Given that these are emblematic forms, Deborah and Marilyn are aware of the substitutive value promoted from the socially dominant structures. Indeed, Deborah rejects the idea of linguistic

correction [example 33b-lines 18-19, right panel], creates caricatures of the socially dominant group as *the Big Town* [line 20], and describes the 'fake' Raizal English speakers as ridiculous [line 29].

6.1.1.7 *I speak Creole but write English*. This was part of Ilona's response when I asked her in the EV interview what languages she would prefer to be taught in the schools. Ilona is a 72 years old Raizal lady settled in Bottom House. She is very respected and appreciated by her fellow Raizals and family members as a wise elder of the community. Ilona was educated in English and she states having learned both Creole and English at home, as his father used to work abroad on ships and interact with her in English. She said that she would prefer English and Spanish to be taught in the schools, but "no Creole. I speak Creole but write English." Her answer entails a conciliatory arrangement of both Creole and English with supplementary functions of a different nature: Creole is assigned an oral nature and English is assigned a written form. She latter added: "Creole cannot be read. I don't know how to read it. English is for reading." This conciliatory tone adjusts the traditionally oriented community where she lives and the education she received.

Similar responses were found elsewhere in the EV interviews, as the participants perceive a complimentary relationship between English and Creole. Steve, for example, says that English and Creole are "the boyfriend to the girlfriend," meaning that these languages are intimately intertwined and are "practically the same, we don't talk [English] but understand it." Some participants viewed these languages as one feeding the other; for example Becky thinks, "you can learn English from Creole" and Alice states that English represents a strength for Creole speakers as it has "more vocabulary" and "enriches the Creole." Overall, English and Creole appear to fit well in this ideological arrangement and, unlike Spanish, no participant perceives English as a threat.

I found similar expressions that echoed Ilona's response, such as "I speak Creole but read English", "Our parents talk Creole but learn English", and "They [the teachers] teach English but speak Creole." Altogether, these expressions entail two important ideas: (1) Creole and English are juxtaposed in the islands, especially in Providencia, as linguistic entities of different subclasses (Creole-oral; English-written), (2) Creole cannot be avoided as the language of daily interaction. Regarding the second idea, the Creole language is represented as a force that cannot be neglected and, therefore, those who were educated in English and read English, actually speak

Creole. The description of English teachers speaking Creole suggests that, regardless of the class contents, the daily interaction among Creole speakers in class is at least sometimes conducted in Creole. A further ethnographic study of daily interactions in class would be able to shed light on this.

Although Ilona represented English and Creole in a complementary relationship, there were other voices profiling the orality of Creole as a deficiency. As previously shown, Valentine, Carlee, and Kasandra ideologically deploy Creole either as a no language, a not accepted language, a dialect, or a non-standardized variety, while Hellen describes it as "funny talk." When being asked about Creole writing (example 34), Carlee and Kasandra stated that Creole writing is purposely wrong, which would derive in inventing another language [lines 23-25]. In light of some existing written texts that I brought to the discussion, they stated that those written products come from San Andrés and are unreadable [lines 30, 32]. In all, the participants displayed an intense attachment to English and a clearcut rejection of the Creole language becoming official [lines 27-28]. In the EV Interview, Kasandra went beyond that point and argued that Creole is a threat to English, if it is written and becomes official.

(34) Discussion session 2-Fragment E-Providencia (Town)

[22] *((4:33))* Carlee: They are trying to write it. You know, you can, you can speak in a way, but when you
[23] write, you are supposed to write correct. And then, they are trying to write wrong purpos.. on purpose.
[24] *((14:38))* That would be inventing another language.
[25] *((14:55))* Kasandra: Inventing another language.
[26] Investigator: Inventing another language. What do you mean 'inventing another language'?
[27] *((15:10))* Carlee: If you start writing it, after a while, you have to accept it. After you accept it, then you
[28] would have to legalize it.
[29] *((15:40))* Investigator: But still, some people are doing it. So, they have the Bible, they have…
[30] Kasandra: But they can't read it.
[31] Carlee: That is San Andrés. There in San Andrés, they did that.
[32] Kasandra: They can't read it.

Similarly, Valentine (example 35) argues that Creole lacks a grammar [line 7] and an alphabet [lines 10-11] and, therefore, cannot be read. In light of Frida's argument about some written production that is easy for her to read and understand [lines 14-15], Valentine downplays other participants' Creole as their 'little English', appropriate for children, which is later

standardized toward English [line 18]. In the EV interview, Valentine argued that the Bible translation into Creole sounds unnatural, as he reads the Bible in English.

(35) Discussion session 1-Fragment D-Providencia (SENA)

[7] *((19:30))* Valentine: The Creole doesn't have a structure, a grammatical structure […] and there is nobody
[8] that we can say, "well, […] I am a language teacher that know Creole, so I can make a structure for it" […]
[9] So, […] to write it will be complicated because, how the companion was said, she write a word one way,
[10] and I write it in a different way. So, which one of we have the authority to say well, your valid, my valid to
[11] be written at this way? So, that gwain (going to) be a very difficult way […] to know how that word is
[12] going to really write and really the word is something that is descend of an English word, basically. So,
[13] why should I write it in [differently]?
[14] *((22:15))* Frida: Well, they have a, e… a Bible write in Creole. Well, I read it and fi me (for me) is easy to
[15] read, easy to understand.
[16] Kitty: So, it is better to understand.
[17] ((22:46)) Valentine: Yeah, it is easier, it is easier because it is their maternal language […] First we learn
[18] that, like that little English that we call Creole broken, and then we start to standardize it according to what
[19] our parents teach us.

6.1.1.8 *The Creole is perfect.* Frida, a 22 years old lady born in San Andrés provided the closing remarks in her discussion session in Providencia: *Fi mi is perfect* 'for me [Creole] is perfect.' Frida was engaged in the discussion within her small group of three people but she projected a much lower profile than her peers in the general discussion (all small groups included) by speaking the least and using a noticeably low tone of voice. At times, I had to facilitate her turn to talk, so she could finish her statements. On one occasion, Valentine deployed her statements on the readability of Creole, which was also supported by other participants, I facilitated again her turn to talk and encouraged her to expand her statement, and she added: "fi mi the Creole is perfect" (example 36). Then, a more talkative person took the floor to speak about learning English. I had to facilitate Frida's turn talking a third time, so she could finish her statement and she added: "Fi mi the Creole is perfect, just like different languages and so, like Spanish, like English […]". At that point, I thanked her for her remarks, thanked everybody else, and closed the debate. Frida's statement is remarkable as the perfection description entails self-sufficiency for Creole and, at the same time, awards equal status to this language as that of English, Spanish, and any other language.

(36) Discussion seession 1-Fragment E-Providencia (SENA)

[22] *((25:38))* Investigator [→ Frida]: OK, so you said that you know the Bible in Creole and you are able to
[23] read it in Creole and you understand it easily. So, do you still agree that Creole should be written?
[23] Frida: Fi mi is perfect (for me, it is perfect)
[24] *((27:15))* Investigator [→ Frida]: So, you said it is perfect. What do you mean "it is perfect"?
[25] Frida: Well, fi mi (for me) the Creole is perfect, perfect, just like different languages and so […] like
[26] Spanish, like English, like France (French).

Admittedly, as in Frida's discussion session, only a few participants assigned such status to the Creole language. The arguments presented through the different narratives of language in this section suggest that the ethnicity function (language as an ethnic marker), does not encompass all ideological complexities behind the intricate sociohistorical situation of the islands. I have showed that the values of authenticity, deference, and opposition to the social structures, which entail some emotional attachment to Creole, coexist with pervasive ideologies of Creole as a vernacular, incorrect, and not fully fledged variety. Historically, these latter associations have been commonplace in interethnic situations where the Creole languages and their speakers have been subject to intense stigmatization (Alleyne, 1994: 8-13).

6.1.2 Interethnic discordance

Besides the ideologies of language, the perceptions of interethnic discordance relate to EV in complex ways (see section 2.2.2.2). The perceptions of interethnic discordance may be reflective of the social relationships underlying a favorable or unfavorable environment for language maintenance and, depending on the context, they may also be reflective of the efforts of the threatened group to keep their culture and language alive. Thus, the ethnic group whose language or culture are perceived to be at risk can maximize the perceived distance, differences, and disagreements with the out group as a way to strengthen their ethnic boundaries, protect the local values, and call for ethnic solidarity among its members. In other words, the bigger the perceived risk the bigger the perceived interethnic discordance and the stronger the subjective reaction from the threatened group (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011). This is not necessarily a straightforward and unique method to delve into the subjective EV, but it is indicative of the perception of the social processes behind language shift and language maintenance.

I have found a series of discourse evidence in the EV interviews and the discussion sessions that suggest a perceived high interethnic discordance between Continental Colombians and Raizals in San Andrés. In Providencia, the evidence suggests no overt interethnic discordance, which is predictable due to the sociohistorical differences between these two islands. In the following subsections, I will summarize such discourse evidence; the first five subsections all relate to San Andrés and the last one relates to Providencia. The data is presented in the form of narratives or opinions from my participants, which are highly expressive as they capture the circulating ideologies about interethnic relationships. I also add information from different participants to make the point clear. Table 43 summarizes the narratives of interethnic discordance in San Andrés according to the sketch from section 2.2.2.2.

Table 43. Narratives of interethnic discordance in San Andrés

Component	Narratives
Legitimacy	**They are trying to put the whole Colombia in this small 26 Km^2 island.** Colonization has overcome the Raizal community. The historical process behind the interethnic relationship is perceived as illegitimate. **What is our businness about Cristóbal Colon (Christopher Columbus)?** Raizals are being imposed upon with educational contents that are disconnected from the islands. Education as a social process is perceived as unfair.
Confidence	**¡Es el propio Sodoma! 'It is Sodom itself!'** The outgroup has brought social problems improper of Raizals. There is a general aversion toward these problems.
Cooperation	**We are dying because of tourism** The Raizal community derives no (significant) benefit from the tourist industry. The outgroup is perceived as uncooperative and selfish.
Dehumanization	**Los pañas tienen bebés como ratas 'Pañas have babies like rats'** The outgroup is aggressively and systematically overcoming the Raizal community. They are absorbing all resources.

6.1.2.1 *They are trying to put the whole Colombia in this small 26-km^2 island*. San Andrés overpopulation is one of the most outstanding concerns expressed by the participants regarding the relationship with continental Colombians and the Colombian state. Vincent lives in a traditionally Raizal neighborhood in San Luis, he is an active churchgoer, a leader, and an

instructor of a technical educational institution. In the EV interview, I asked Vincent "who are most of the inhabitants of the island?" His answer to my question (example 37) was categorical, surpassed its quantitative dimension, entailed a deeper social problem, and suggested feelings of indignation toward the Colombian institutions. First, he pictures the Raizal population as a minority in the island and estimates a population of 250,000 Continental Colombians, which is eight times larger than the official records (see section 4.1.1) from 2013. This estimate suggests a general perception of being overcome and marginalized by the newcomers. Secondly, Vincent's interpretation submits an effort from the Colombian state to deliberately expropriate the islander territory. This perception of unfairness and injustice yields a reasoning of illegitimacy of the interethnic relationship and clearly suggests a perceived interethnic discordance with Continental Colombians and the institutions they represent.

> (37) Vincent: There is no formal statistic […] They says (sic) that there are 30,000 Raizal people […] I can almost assure you that there are 250,000 Continental people living here […] So we are what we call, minority […] Now the question is, why Colombia insist in trying to, what we seh (say) really, is bringing the whole Colombia to a likle (little) island of just 26 km^2? Well, the answer is very easy […] the idea of the Colombian state is to make sure that the population of the inhabitants in regards to Colombia that they are always more than Raizal people, in order to expropriate this territory (EV interview, 2016).

Vincent's perception is not uncommon and many of my participants from San Andrés gave me similar answers. Anthony, for example, states that the community received a copy of a classified document with information about 'the Colombian government's plans' to outnumber islanders. He remembers part of his parents' lands having been expropriated due to the construction of the main road (the Circunvalar) in the island. He also estimates non-Raizal population at about 200,000 people. When I asked him about the official reports, he said, "they are hiding the truth." Then, I asked him how he knows the number if they are hiding the truth and he told me that everybody knows that number. As I showed in section 4.1.1, Dane (2014, p. 73) acknowledges some possible elusion of non-Raizal people from the census, but the estimates of census elusion are much lower (about 8,000 people apparently unregistered). Regardless of the size of the discrepancy between the estimates and the actual population, the important point here is the perception of unfairness, the resentment toward Continental Colombians and the

Colombian government, and the interethnic discordance on territory, which is usually a fundamental part of ethnicity (Fought 2006, p. 130), tied to historical memory.

6.1.2.2 *Los pañas tienen bebés como ratas* 'Pañas have babies like rats'. This was Alice's answer to the same question I asked Vincent about the majority of people living in the island (example 38). Her answer, however, entails a different dimension than Vincent's. Alice perceives 'pañas' (Continental Colombians) as the majority of people living in San Andrés, but she also dehumanizes them and assigns them the low-instinct behaviors suggested by the content of her statement and the metaphor of *rats*: having babies at a disproportionate rate since being very young. Alice contrasts this 'wild' behavior with Raizals, who, according to her, have few babies and only since they are twenty. This contrast corresponds to general feelings of aversion towards the out group, suggesting a clear array of perceived interethnic discordance, as described by Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, p. 126).

> (38) Alice: Los pañas […] porque tienen bebés como ratas. Eso se reproducen, Dios mío! Eso tienen hijos desde que tienen quince años […] O sea, son muchos. (EV interview, 2016)
> *(Pañas […] because they have babies like rats. They breed, Oh, my God! They have children since they are fifteen years old […] I mean, they are a lot).*

In section 4.1.2, I showed that the estimates of birth rate for both Raizals and non-Raizals, based on the official census, are about the same. However, the perception of disproportionate reproduction of non-Raizals was pervasive across the interviews of different participants. Furthermore, these participants' opinions related to the perception of the economical resources of the island being absorbed by such enormous population of newcomers and their descendants, as shown in example (39) from Loyce. Loyce was discussing about Raizal rights and benefits and she argued that Continentals are absorbing all social programs from the Colombian government. She makes a clear contrast between the out group and the Raizal community. According to her, Continental girls devote themselves to have family in order to receive and accumulate all social benefits, which are geared toward those in need, whereas those are not Raizal behaviors. Her statement entails a clear perception of unfairness and unequal access to the social and public resources, which was also pervasive in relation to the job market,

as described in section 5.2.4. These perceptions of inequality and unfairness intensify the perceived interethnic discordance between the groups.

(39) Discussion session 3-Fragment C-San Andrés (San Luis)

[5] *((29:20))* Loyce: All the different rights, auxiliary that […] the government give is dem (they) get it.

[6] Islanders hardly get it. And they, the girls dem (the girls), they, they create family, family, family, […] just

[7] to live of that […] We is not those kind of people and we are not going to do that, but all these auxiliaries

[8] […] If it is nine different auxiliaries, they have each one, all of them. One person have all.

6.1.2.3 *¡Es el propio Sodoma!* 'It is Sodom itself!' Samantha is a 49 year old Raizal lady who lives in El Cocal, a Hispanic dominant neighborhood. She has married a continental Colombian and has two children, who understand Creole but barely speak it. Samantha also happens to speak Creole infrequently given the dominant Spanish interactions in her inner circle, neighborhood, and job. I asked her what the places of the island are where she would and would not like to live in the island. She pointed to El Cocal (where she currently lives) and El Cliff as the worst and unlivable neighborhoods, given different social problems, such as ever-lasting dancing, fighting, drug sales and drug consumption, raffles, and shootings (example 40). Samantha synthetizes her description of these neighborhoods as *Sodom itself*. Her metaphoric reference to the Bible story of Sodom [and Gomorrah] is instructive as it represents the behaviors of the out group as low-instinctive behaving and assigns it a dimension of being prone to 'sin' and crime.

(40) Investigator: ¿Te gustaría más vivir en otro sitio de la isla distinto al barrio El Cocal?

(Would you like to live in another place of the island other than El Cocal neighborhood?)

Samantha: Cualquier... Bueno, cualquier lado no, porque en El Cliff tampoco [laughter]. Cualquier lugar fuera de esos dos barrios [El Cocal, El Cliff] […] o sea si hay uno peor, no sé [laughter].

(Any… Well, any place no, because El Cliff neither [laughter] Any place other than those two neighborhoods [El Cocal, El Cliff] […] I mean, if there is something worse, I don't know [laughter])

Investigator: ¿Por qué cualquier lugar fuera de estos dos barrios?

(Why any place other than these two neighborhoods?)

Samantha: Porque es el propio Sodoma. *So*, hay bulla y bailoteo a toda hora. Eso es lo más horrible que uno puede vivir. Uno no tiene un día de descanso […] Y no puede uno decir nada […] se enfrentan con la policía, horrible! (EV Interview, 2015)

(Because it is Sodom itself. So, there is racket and dancing every time. That is the most horrible that you can live. One doesn't have a day off […] And you can say nothing […] they confront the police, horrible!)

Samantha's description coincides with those from most of my participants, who also warned me against entering these and other Hispanic dominant neighborhoods. As described in section 4.1.1, Hispanic neighborhoods were often described by the participants as shantytowns, lacking of basic services (e.g. aqueducts and sewage systems), dirty, half-done, settled by poor people, and suited to crime. The participant descriptions suggest important breakdowns in the social structure of the island and indicate that the perceived interethnic discordance between Raizals and non-Raizals may be anchored to deep contrasts that are fed by actual social problems. The participants emphasized that these problems are not suitable for the Raizal community and complained about having their free-circulation, through areas that their grandparents and ancestors used to enjoy, now impeded.

6.1.2.4 *We are dying because of tourism*. As described in section 1.2.1, the declaration of San Andrés as a Free-Port in 1953 triggered the development of the tourist industry on a large scale and at a rapid speed. The island quickly changed their sources of income and jobs from the Coconut production from the early 20th century, to commerce and tourism. I asked the participants about the impact of tourism in the islands. Vincent's response is cataclysmic as he pictures the tourist industry as the cause of the weakening of the Raizal community and the environmental deterioration of San Andrés (example 41). His statement connects two important aspects. First, the island allegedly lives from tourism and, secondly, this is cause of extinction.

(41) Vincent: The saying is that […] San Andrés lives af (of) tourism, that's the saying but […] we, the Raizal people, we are dying because of tourism. In fact, the entire island, […] environmentally speaking, is dying because of tourism (EV Interview, 2016).

Regarding the first point, the development of tourism in San Andrés is considerable given the large numbers of annual visitors (678,850 in 2013) and there are major hotel chains (www.sanandres.gov.co). Vincent and other participants highlight that, despite the large revenues that tourism supposedly brings to the island, islanders hardly perceive significant income derived from tourism. The participants complain that given that hotels are offering

combo packages –everything included-, this leaves nothing to them. Moreover, they point out with dismay the recent incursion of *turistas chancleteros* 'duty foot bway (boy)', which refers to tourists of limited economical resources who are able to enter the island due to low fare tickets, but do not spend money on the island, do not go to a typical islander restaurant, and never take a taxi (which are driven mostly by islanders).

Regarding the second aspect, the participants pointed to different environmental problems in relation to tourism. The most critical problem they stated is related to waste disposal, which appears to be insufficient and ineffective to cover the tourists' demands in San Andrés. Other problems they stated in relation to tourism were the scarcity of potable water, the increase of housing expenses (e.g. rent, electricity), and allegedly 'bad' behavior from tourists. Overall, the participants emphasize a gap in the tourist industry, which is hosted on the island but derives no significant benefits for them. The misalignment between the economical orientation of the island and the marginal participation of islanders in the tourist industry thus contribute to the perceived interethnic discordance described in this section.

6.1.2.5 *What is our business about Cristóbal Colón?* Loyce is a just retired Raizal lady who lives in a traditional neighborhood in San Luis. She was participating in a discussion group with her young child and we were discussing education. I asked them about teaching contents in the schools. Joyce's answer (example 42) voices a concern that different participants expressed to me: the educational system is not sensitive to the context of the islands and Raizal culture appears to have no place in the classroom. On the contrary, Loyce calls into question the imposition of Colombian mainstream contents on the island educational system, such as historical teachings about Christopher Columbus and other Colombian figures. She calls for a locally relevant education that responds to the island history and fighters (heroes). Similarly, other participants argue that in the schools they are lectured more about, for example, rivers and mountains, which are characteristic of the Continental Colombian geography, than about sea and sea life, which are relevant for the islands. This disconnection between the local context and a centralized educational system seemingly increases the perceived distance between the ethnic groups.

(42) Discussion session 3-Fragment D-San Andrés (San Luis)

[9] *((10:42))* Loyce: This is our island […] Then, why should we replace… they replace or impose their
[10] teaching on us? […] What is our business about Cristobal Colón and Jorge del… all those conquistadores
[11] dem (conquerors). Why, […] they don't teach about our things dem (our things) […] own fighters from our
[12] past that fight for us? That is what they should do.

6.1.2.6 *Providencia: no overt interethnic discordance perceived.* Given that the impact of urbanization, colonization, and the Spanish incursion has been less strong in Providencia, there is no overt interethnic discordance perceived on this island. As I showed in section 5.2.1, some participants from this island defined their islander identity in opposition to Colombia and emphasized that they have nothing to do with Colombia. However, when compared to San Andrés, in Providencia there was no similar animosity against the out-group, the historical relationships between them, and their mutual cooperation and confidence.

On the contrary, the participants appear to be aware of low immigration rates and have confidence in the institutions that control population circulation in the island, such as OCCRE (example 43a). The participants do not characterize the out group in similar terms to those observed in San Andrés and, at times, they describe continental Colombians as friends (example 43b). Furthermore, the participants express a positive attitude toward tourism as a main source of income (example 43c) and eventually acknowledge the Colombian government and policies (example 43d). Naturally, these trends are the expression of a less problematic context and the fact that the Raizal population is still the dominant majority of the island (90%), controlling the local administration and being in charge of the tourism business, which is developed in an ecologically-friendly style with small lodging places rather than big hotel chains.

(43a) Kasandra: Por lo del OCCRE […] hay un control para que los continentales no se queden en la isla. (EV Interview, 2015)

(Because of the OCCRE, there is some control for Continentals not to stay on the island)

(43b) Rick: They [continentals] are mixed up because they have come and get friends with […] the Raizal people here from Providence (EV Interview, 2015).

(43c) Darcey: El turismo impacta mucho la isla sobre todo en la parte socioeconómica porque la mayoría de las personas […] están involucradas con el turismo. Por ejemplo, los pescadores le tienen que vender los pescados a los restaurantes, que así mismo les tienen que servir a los turistas. Entonces, es como una cadena de consumos en el cual, al fin y al cabo, estamos todos involucrados (EV Interview, 2015).

(Tourism has a great impact on the island, especially on the socioeconomic sector because most of the people have to do with tourism. For example, the fishermen have to sell fish to the restaurants, which have to serve the tourists. So, it is like a consumption chain in which, at the end, we all are involved).

(43d) Leslie: The fisherman dem (fishermen) they don't have where to fishing like before. So […] the president try to help […] send ina money or something […] like a salary, to help the fisherman dem (fishermen) and that help the family […] because we all truly lose so much sea (EV Interview, 2015).

6.1.3 EV modes

As I showed in section 5.2, the fluent Creole-speaking participants from both islands reached subjective EV scores that are positive (above 2 in a 3 point-scale), suggesting a perception of vitality from both island groups. There was, however, a significant difference between the participants from San Andrés and those from Providencia, with the latter scoring significantly higher than the former. In this section, I aim to show that these differences are not only numerical, but they are grounded on the different perceptions of interethnic relationships, emotional attachment, and commitment to the group as suggested by the qualitative examination of the participants' responses. The substantively different sociohistorical circumstances of both islands have likely encouraged a different emotional disposition to the local language and the ethnic group: different EV modes. Thus, each group appears to operate in a different kind of vitality.

Table 44 summarizes two different EV modes that I proposed for both islands following Ehala (2011). San Andrés participants appeared to operate in a hot EV mode, which means a general state of alertness. The hot EV mode from these participants appears to be motivated by a perception of Creole being lost and the perception of Spanish as a threat. It is grounded by the display of an intense attachment to the local language and culture and the assertion of cohesion among the ethnic group members. Providencia participants appeared to opperate in a cool EV mode, which means a general state of distension, free from restrain or social pressure. The cool EV mode from these participants appears to be motivated in the absence of a perceived threat from Spanish, Spanish speakers, or Colombian culture. It does not imply lack of emotions, as the participants also displayed emotional attachment to their language and territory as ethnic identifiers, but it implies the avoidance of radical positions regarding social relationships.

Table 44. Hot and Cool EV modes

	San Andrés – Hot EV mode	Providencia – Cool EV mode
Motivations	Awareness of the Creole language being lost. Spanish is perceived as a threat	Spanish is not perceived as a threat.
Emotional attachment	Display of emotional attachment to the local language and culture	Language and territory as ethnic identifiers
Commitment to the group	Assertion of cohesion among the ethnic group members	Radical positions are avoided

These two specific cases suggest that, as predicted by Ehala (2011), the higher the perceived threat for the group the hotter the mode. Indeed, the participants from San Andrés had subjective EV scores that were positive but significantly lower than those from Providencia (see section 5.2 and, more specifically, figure 12). The significantly higher subjective EV scores from Providencian participants may have likely been the reflection of their confidence in a favorable state of affairs, which, given the absence of a perceived threat, makes them operate on a cool EV mode. Both EV modes are described with more detail in the following sections.

6.1.3.1 *San Andrés-Hot EV mode.* The perception of interethnic discordance between the ethnic groups in San Andrés has likely roused a hot EV mode among the participants from this island. As discussed in section 2.2.2.3, the hot EV mode indicates a general state of alertness when facing a perceived risk. The perception of social discrimination and lack of social and linguistic rights presented in section 5.2.4, the narratives of illegitimacy, unfairness, ill-treatment, aggressive and disruptive behaviors from the out-group described in section 6.1.2, and the animosity exhibited toward that group suggest that the alarm bells have been sounded and the hot EV mode is in place. Specifically, the hot EV mode is supported by (1) the awareness of the Creole language being lost, (2) the display of emotional attachment to the local language and culture, and (3) the assertion of cohesion among the ethnic group members.

"Our language we are losing… predomina es el español (Spanish is dominant)," declared Haley when I asked her about the language that helps the most to succeed in the island (example 44). She provided me with a lengthy explanation of the dominance of Spanish in the business sector in San Andrés and how this has compelled Raizals to speak Spanish "anywhere they go." Her code-switching into Spanish is also illustrative of the dominance of Spanish in the social

setting. Her answer also entails Spanish as threat and suggests the perception of a language shift process to the dominant language. Similarly, Vincent states a clear concern for the Creole language: "If we stop talking Creole, it will disappear. If we stop talking Spanish, it wouldn't", and suggests some awareness of the differentials in power between the local language and the major language.

> (44) Haley: Anywhere you go […] you have to es.. talk Spanish […] You can count the few business dem (business) that is here that is for, is Islanders […] our language we are losing… predomina es el español *(Spanish is dominant)* (EV Interview, 2016).

The perception of the language being lost is not isolated but tied to the perception of traditions and cultural practices being forgotten or neglected. Most of the participants pointed out to me "it is not just the language" and stated many other concerns they also have (some of them are discussed in section 6.1.2). They regret the imminent loss of traditional practices of farming, fishing, and cooking, neglected by the new generations and replaced with practical choices, such as buying food in stores. In brief, the growing presence of Spanish speakers has cast Spanish as a threat and the Creole language being lost. However, it also has favored the perception of a whole community with traditions and memories being displaced by the strength and demands of a relatively new social context.

Secondly, the hot EV mode is fed with the expression of emotional attachment to the language and a general concern to keep the language and culture. For example, Philip provided me with a different answer to the same question I asked Haley. For Philip, Creole is the language that helps the most to succeed in the island. Philip is a 26 year old Raizal man living in a traditional neighborhood in the Hill, he completed his elementary and secondary education in traditional schools located in Raizal dominant districts. He is now working and studying at a technical educational institution. Unlike Haley, his answer appears not to surrender to the dominant language and he provided me with a simple but emotional justification of why Creole is the most advantageous language: "because Creole is our home." For him, Creole was his primary language of interaction when growing up and it brings memories of his childhood at his home and school. He also stated that Spanish is not interesting for him and that he and Raizals in general "learn it because we have to." This contrast between a socially dominant language, which is not interesting for him, and the mother tongue, which represents his home, entails an

emotional attachment to the language that surpasses its instrumental assessment as communication tools.

Philip was also one of the most engaged participants in the discussion sessions, always displaying an intensive connection with his language and culture. One of his remarkable statements regarding the Creole language was: "I'd like it to be famous" as a reasoning for the language being known outside of the islands. Other participants from San Andrés also displayed similar statements of emotional attachment to the language: a language to be proud of, an important language, a language that "real Raizals speak", and a language not to feel ashamed of, among others. Felisha, for example, wishes Creole to be taught as "you get it faster." As seen in section 6.1.1, some of the most common expressions in relation to the local language and culture were "our language, our Creole, our culture, our island." Thus, besides the language, the participants displayed a general concern to keep Raizal culture and traditions alive.

Finally, the hot EV mode in San Andrés is also entailed by the assertion of cohesion among the ethnic group members and the display of commitment to the group. Example (45) from Philip illustrates the assertion of cohesion overtly expressed by the participants. Philip was talking about the neighborhood (Barrack) where he lives in the Hill, which he pictures as a human fort where no outsider can dare to enter, using the metaphor of 'ants'. Similar to what was observed in Bottom House (Providencia), he acknowledges that his neighborhood has 'bad fame' of fighters and troublemakers, but he states that they are just aware of the Raizal identity being lost and trying to be united and to keep their culture alive. Philip's example is informative about strengthening social cohesion as a possible mechanism to help EV in a hot mode. Georgianna, an older adult lady who lives in the same neighborhood as Philip, also states strong feelings of solidarity with her neighbors. According to her, they are always together because they "did not sell their lands [which are] for her grandchildren and great grandchildren."

(45) Philip: We are like ants; if you touch one, you have to touch all (EV interview, 2016).

Beyond Philip and Georgiana's particular neighborhood, there were other participants' statements that entail cohesion and commitment to common goals of the group. Haley, for example, says, "we are fighting for it [for Creole to be recognized as an official language]" and Vincent says, "our fight is not against Colombian people but the State. They have made danger

to our identity. We try to make people conscious about the reality." Haley and Vincent's statements about seeking community goals suggest some possible awakening regarding the perceived threat. Scrutinizing linguistic behaviors (code-switching, Spanish use) of the youngsters, as seen in section 6.1.1.2, and the rejection of Raizals who do not speak Creole (see next section 6.1.4) may also relate to a strengthening cohesion in a hot EV mode. Similarly, scorning islanders who happen to leave the island suggests a concern about the community cohesion as expressed by Becky: "they don't have their own identity […] they go and get used to the identity of others. San Andrés is nothing for them." These concerns may or may not take the form of concrete social movements, such as the AMEN-SD mentioned in section 1.2.3, but they are expressions of the overt hot EV mode in which the participants from San Andrés appeared to be.

6.1.3.2 *Providencia-Cool EV mode.* Unlike San Andrés, the participants from Providencia appeared to be in a cool EV mode. I preferred this term instead of the original 'cold EV mode' proposed by Ehala (2011, pp. 192-193). The rational calculations of risks, costs, and benefits and the self-sufficiency values related to the cold EV mode are not characteristic of the participants from Providencia. On the contrary, the content of their EV interviews, their discussion sessions, and the absence of a perceived threat and an overt interethnic discordance, suggests a general state of distension, free from restrain or social pressure, which I called 'cool EV mode.'

In practice, the cool EV mode means the absence of an overt concern for the local language and culture. This mode does not imply passivity, lack of interest, or disengagement from the group; it only implies some perceived confidence in the welfare of the group. The participants also display emotional attachment to their language and culture and there is also some activism around the local values (e.g. some Deborah and Marylin's projects on the culture), but overall, there is no such general state of alertness that was observed in San Andrés. Specifically, the cool EV mode is summarized as follows: (1) Spanish is not perceived as a threat, (2) language and territory are ethnic identifiers, and (3) radical positions are avoided.

Regarding the first point, the participants rarely perceived Spanish as a threat. Only a few participants showed some concern for the use of the language by the youngsters, but overall the participants showed either a neutral or a positive attitude toward Spanish. For example, Jazmine, an older adult lady from Old Town does not perceive Spanish as a threat "because we always

speak Creole. We only speak Spanish or English when it is necessary. None will change that." She also states that Spanish is useful to interact with "people from the Continent." Her answer appears to be overconfident in the state of affairs as unchangeable and this perception feeds the cool EV mode. For this participant, the local language is perceived as vital and there is nothing to worry about. The perceived confidence in the state of affairs is also explainable by the absence of interethnic discordance with Continentals, which are minority in this island. When I asked Nathan about discrimination against Raizals in the island, he says, "No, everything is cool". Nathan's statement summarizes the cool EV mode as a feeling of good welfare, apparently shared by the other participants.

Secondly, as I have shown in section 6.1.1, the local language is an ethnic identifier for Raizals across both islands. The participants from Providencia, as those from San Andrés, usually call it "our mother tongue, our identity, our roots." Elissa, for example, states that "we all speak English and Spanish [but] we identify ourselves with Creole, the language from here. We speak Creole for everything." Elissa's statement suggests a vigorous state of the native language both in daily use and in the participants' attitudes.

Regarding the identity function of the language, I also have shown some discrepancies between some participants (e.g. Deborah and Marylin) who acknowledge Creole as the native language and other participants (e.g. Kasandra and Carlee) who neglect it and identify themselves with English (see sections 6.1.1.4 through 6.1.1.8). A common ground between them is land. Regardless of the opinions on language, all my participants displayed strong emotional attachment to their land (the island) and the sea. I asked Helen about possible differences between San Andrés and Providencia in terms of traditions, status, or honor. Although Helen is an English oriented participant who describes Creole as a funny language, her response (example 46) suggests an emotional attachment to the island. As with Helen, most of the participants highlight peace, tranquility, beauty, and quietness as the best qualities of Providencia, and described this island as "a paradise" or "my little rock." Indeed, the only area in which I found some animosity against the out group was territory, as they expressed some resentment about the effects of the political conflicts between Colombia and Nicaragua on their sea: "I am not Colombian. They took away our sea" (Rick, 2015, EV Interview).

(46) Helen: It is my island and I love it. It is more peaceful (EV interview, 2015)

Finally, the cool EV mode is supported by a general avoidance of radical positions in relation to language, culture, education, and social relationships. I asked the participants for marriage preferences that are encouraged in the community and whether or not marriage with Continentals is discouraged. Unlike San Andrés, where I found some responses of discouragement of marriage ties with Continentals, in Providencia there was no such trend. Abraham, for example, criticizes extremist positions led by activists in San Andrés, who allegedly discourage marriage ties with Continentals. Abraham takes a more liberal position, as "it is hard to govern on feelings." Similarly, Leslie states that "plenty islanders are marrying Spaniards" and she does not complain about that. On other areas of interethnic relationships, the participants state no discrimination between the groups. Abraham, for example (47), states the absence of social discrimination in the island given that "we are majority", and Helen states that continental Colombians are always welcomed and that "everyone should have the same rights: pañas and islanders; all are humans." Overall, the absence of a perceived threat from Spanish, the apparently friendly relationship with the Continental minority, and the avoidance of radical positions on social relationships entail the cool EV mode I have proposed for Providencia.

> (47) Abraham: Hay un grupo en San Andrés […] el grupo AMEN. Es un grupo radical extremista, van al otro extremo, donde van en contra de los continentales […] Pero eso es difícil cuando el amor se inicia […], sea con un isleño o con quien sea […] continental (EV Interview, 2015).
> *(There is a group in San Andrés […] the Amen group. It is an extremist radical group, they go to the other extreme, where they pose against continentals […] but that is hard when love starts […] either with an islander or whoever […] continental).*

The narratives of interethnic relationships suggest that Providencians can easily shift to a hot EV mode if needed, so they are cool but watchful. For example, Carlee and Kasandra acknowledge that the distribution of the job market has changed in favor of the Raizal community, given that "they used to impose someone from the continent [but] […] now we have more opportunities." For them, the national government is inventing new initiatives to stop social revolts and they pointed out that whenever "they bring someone" who is an outsider to fill an administrative position on the island, "people protest a lot." They remembered a specific case of a public registrar who, according to them, was sent by the national government to work on the island, but was rejected by the community and was blocked from entering her office. This

suggests that EV modes are adaptable to the social circumstances perceived, as discussed in section 2.2.2.3.

6.1.4 Language shift motivations

As shown in section 5.1, the participants from the Creole-shifting group reported low levels of Creole language use in contrast with comparatively higher uses of Spanish. In section 5.2, I showed some of the factors that may relate to these patterns of language use, such as a diffuse ethnic identification, weak social networks with Raizals, some family ties with continental Colombians, and a general preference for Spanish across different situations. In this section, I will analyze specific individual language shift motivations based on the participants' narratives from their EV interviews. The analysis is illustrative of a cluster of motivations that may favor language shift of individuals in certain situations, but they cannot be generalized and, therefore, I am cautious in raising broader statements.

From the taxonomy proposed by Karan (2011, pp. 140-143) and summarized in section 2.2.2.4, I found a cluster of communicative, economic, social identity related, and language power and prestige related motivations. Rather than assuming this taxonomy as a collection of sharp categories, we see a complex nesting. That is, the narratives entail motivations that are communicative and language power or prestige related at the same time, or economic and related to prestige and language power, or related to social identity, language power, and prestige altogether. This complexity makes sense, as language shift motivations are not simple and are better understood as clusters of motivations that can vary and may not be the same for all individuals.

Table 45 summarizes five narratives that suggest different language-shift motivations. These narratives are representative of the participants' perspectives and I discussed individual cases as needed. (1) *De un momento a otro vino un tractor* is a metaphoric representation of a new social order imposed and the compulsion to speak Spanish. (2) *Es que mi papá no me habló* highlights the absence of early significant Creole input. (3) *Ihm coming, de paña gyal!* represents a social identity called into question. (4) *Hay personas que no les gusta el Creole, como yo* gives the perception of a low positioned Creole and the desire of being perceived as a prestigious language speaker. (5) *Buscando un mejor futuro* represents the pursuit of social benefits by

speaking a perceived prestigious language. These narratives are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 45. Narratives of language-shift motivations

Narratives	Motivations
De un momento a otro vino un tractor 'Suddenly, a bulldozer came'	*Language power and prestige*: A new social order imposed *Communicative*: Communication with the newcomers
Es que mi papá no me habló 'What happens is that my dad did not speak to me'	*Communicative*: The lack of early significant Creole input.
Ihm coming, de paña gyal! 'She is coming, the paña girl!'	*Social identity*: Being scorned as an outsider.
Hay personas que no les gusta el Creole, como yo 'There are people who don't like Creole, such as me'	*Social identity*: The desire of being perceived as a prestigious language speaker *Language power and prestige*: The low perceived status of Creole
Buscando un mejor futuro 'Seeking for a better future'	*Economic*: Speaking the language of progress *Language power and prestige*: An outgroup language perceived as the language of education.

6.1.4.1 *De un momento a otro vino un tractor.* Clark's narrative (example 48) summarizes the most common reasoning of Creole-shifting participants to explain why they happen not to speak the Creole language. Rather than the agents of a deliberate decision, these participants represented themselves as victims of the overwhelming Colombianization of the islands, which compelled them to accept a new social order. With feelings of sadness, Clark remembers his childhood playgrounds being destroyed by a bulldozer, which cut down his trees and cleaned the space for the construction of neighborhoods and roads currently dominating the urban setting where he lives in San Andrés. Then, the adoption of new customs and the shift to Spanish are elaborated as inevitable consequences of the challenges imposed by the new social order.

> (48) Clark: Ahí no existía (sic) barrios. Nosotros fuimos como que los primeros que probamos esa zona. Entonces era yo pequeño, yo veía los, los árboles, los palos de mango, que tú ya no, tú no necesitabas ni trepar un palo porque ahí estaban. No, tú ibas y lo cogías y eso estaba lleno de mango, mamón, hay una caña que le dicen caña fístula, y entonces nosotros nos metíamos en el monte y eso era puro monte. De un momento a otro, vino un trator y uff *[onomatopeic imitation of the bulldozer sound]*. (EV Interview, 2016).

(There were no neighborhoods there. We were the first ones populating that zone, I believe. I was a small kid, I used to see the, the trees, the mango trees, it was like you didn't, you didn't even need to climb a tree because mangoes were there. No, we just used to go and take them and that was full of mangoes, Spanish limes, a cane that they call fistula cane, and so we used to enter the bush and that was just bush. Suddenly, a bulldozer came and uff [onomatopoeic imitation of the bulldozer sound]).

Metaphorically, the sudden arrival of the bulldozer would also represent a linguistically devastating force. The participants from this group, especially those living in Hispanic dominant neighborhoods, argued that they have been always surrounded by continental Colombians, as their parents and grandparents sold lands to the newcomers. Therefore, speaking Spanish appeared to them as a natural response to a Hispanicized setting. Fanny, for example, said she arrived in a Continental neighborhood and felt she did not fit on it, and so she started to speak only Spanish. Indeed, as previously seen in section 5.2, Spanish-speaking networks appeared to be dominant among these participants. Moreover, the participants do not emphasize interethnic discordance with continental Colombians. Valery, for example, says Continentals were the ones she happened to know and interact with, and she said that they are *chéveres* 'nice'.

Shifting to Spanish, however, is not only represented as a response to the communicative demands of a Hispanicized context. The participants also appeared to be sensitive to the perceived prestige and social power associated to the languages and the perceived conveniences they bring. Fanny, for example states that growing up and being educated in Spanish made it easier for her to express her thoughts in Spanish than in Creole. Nelly states that Creole is unnecessary, Rosaline says that Spanish is most used in San Andrés, and Kristine says, "*el español pesa más* (Spanish is weighted more)." These statements indicate an emotional disengagement from Creole, which is assessed on the base of social benefits, and suggests a possible transition to a cold EV mode in this group (Ehala, 2011, p. 192). The statement cannot be generalized to any Raizal living in a Hispanic dominant neighborhood, as I also have other participants who live in these districts and are fluent Creole speakers who display emotional attachment to the Creole language.

6.1.4.2 *Es que mi papá no me habló.* Harold's statement (example 49) pictures another typical reasoning among Creole-shifting participants on why they do not speak Creole. As in the previous point, the participants represented themselves as victims of a process that was beyond

their will: the fact of lacking significant Creole input in their childhood. This is also a joint argument to the Bulldozer metaphor: as Continentals entered the islands, mixed marriage surged, and this gave room to the dominance of Spanish in the new families and the lack of Creole transmission to the new generations. Different participants from this group told me similar stories in which, being in a mixed family, one of their parents failed to transmit the language to them. In Harold's example, it was his father who failed to transmit the Creole language, as his mother is a Continental Colombian. Most of the participants from this group (10/16) have a similar pattern, with the father being Raizal and the mother being either a continental Colombian or a national from Central American countries (e.g. Nicaragua, Panamá, Costa Rica). However, the pattern cannot be generalized, as there are 4/16 participants with the reverse pattern (Father-non Raizal, mother-Raizal) and 2/16 participants whose father and mother are both Raizals. There were also fluent Creole-speaking participants who come from mixed families.

(49) Harold: Es que mi papá no me habló [en Creole] solamente puro español (EV Interview, 2016).
(What happens is that my dad did not speak [Creole] to me […] just only Spanish).

6.1.4.3 *Ihm coming, de paña gyal!* The narratives of the Creole-shifting participants suggest that they were frequently mocked and scorned by their fellow Raizals. Valery remembered having been stigmatized as a *Paña* in her school because she used to speak Spanish (example 50). Here, the term *paña* is equated to speaking Spanish and it was used to blame those who are apparently Raizals because of their *titles* (surnames) or ethnicity, but do not speak Creole. It implies that Raizals are expected to speak Creole and that speaking Spanish instead may make one a *paña*, an outsider, and result in the symbolic expulsion from the ethnic group. Most of the participants from this group remembered having being called *pañas* and have been frequent objects of mockery from their classmates and family members either because they used to speak Spanish or because they did not speak Creole fluently.

(50) Valery: En el colegio XY me decían que yo era paña […] Miss Paña Gyal […] porque yo hablaba puro español […] me decían "ihm coming, de paña gyal, ihm coming!" (EV interview, 2016).
(In the school XY, they used to say that I was a paña […] Miss Paña Girl […] because I only spoke Spanish […] they used to tell me, "she is coming, the paña girl, she is coming!")

At least in some cases, these mockery episodes may have been a motive for the Creole-shifting participants to shift to Spanish. Emily, for example, remembers that one of her cousins used to laugh at her when she was trying to speak Creole and she says, "since then, I stopped speaking Creole. I only spoke Creole at home until being 15. I don't speak Creole in public anymore." Fanny, on the other hand, remembers that her classmates from a Hispanic-dominant elementary school used to laugh at her when speaking Spanish. Since then, she decided to stop speaking Creole everywhere in order to improve her Spanish. She declared, "you can find Raizals such as me who understand Creole perfectly but we don't speak it." Emily and Fanny's statements suggest that in some cases the participants might have shifted to Spanish, while lessening or setting Creole aside, in order to save face (Karan, 2011, p. 139). Thus, not speaking Creole can be a public declaration to protect the individual image.

These are some of the nuances of language identities in a multilingual context and, particularly in Creole-language situations, in which the Creole languages are often stigmatized. In daily communicative practices, the speakers may struggle to speak the dominant language (Spanish) and protect themselves from the symbolic sanctions that come with not speaking the ethnic language (Creole). Given that Emily and Fanny, as with many other participants from this group, come from mixed families, the result may be indicative of some blended identities. By speaking Spanish, they are invoking the *paña* title and their Raizal identity is called into question; therefore, they have to assert their Raizal identity in ways other than language. Emily, for example, says that, "regardless of not speaking Creole fluently as the rest" she considers herself Raizal because "being Raizal is not only speaking Creole but […] a culture: gastronomy, dances, costumes."

6.1.4.4 *Hay personas que no les gusta el Creole, como yo.* In general, the participants from the Creole-shifting group did not display strong emotional attachment to the Creole language. Some of them either neglected it or rejected it as a socially disadvantaged variety. Jeraldine (example 51) expresses her dislike for the language as it conflicts with her aspirations to speak English. Although Jeraldine declared her preference for English, her aspirations to speak it are only profiled as a wish. In her language-self report, Jeraldine declares to speak Spanish most frequently in most of the situations, while speaking Creole the least. She did not declare English as a language she speaks; in practice, she has shifted to Spanish. Therefore, this language-shift

motivation relies on the perceived prestige and social status of the languages: Creole is disliked as a perceived low-status variety, while English is perceived as a high-status variety that she likes (but does not speak). Other participants from this group expressed similar thoughts of dislike or disdain for Creole. Kristine, for example, says "we feel shame of speaking Creole" and Ophelia states that nobody wants to speak Creole because "they think it is a funny language." In all, these statements suggest an emotional disengagement from the language, probably related to a perceived low status.

> (51) Jeraldine: Hay personas […] que no les gusta el Creole, por ejemplo yo […] Entonces, la persona que no le guste el Creole va a tratar de, de hablar perfecto o perfeccionar el inglés. (EV Interview, 2016)
> *(There are people […] who do not like Creole, such as me […] So, the person who does not like Creole will try to, to speak perfectly or to improve her/his English).*

6.1.4.5 *Buscando un mejor futuro.* The pursuit of a better life out of the island might have been motivational for some participants to release some ethnic boundaries and disentangle themselves from the island life. Rosaline states having considered leaving the island to seek a better future (example 52). For some participants, this motivation is fed by feelings of frustration at not being able to find jobs in their specific areas of professionalization or at their positions being subject to political casualties. Rosaline herself has been working in different places out of the island: one year in Panama, one year in Cayman Islands, and one year in Bogotá.

> (52) Rosaline: He considerado emigrar […] de pronto buscando un mejor futuro. (EV Interview, 2016)
> *(I have considered emigrating […] maybe to seek a better future)*

Although there is no necessary connection between leaving the islands and shifting to another language, some of the participants relate the idea of progress and professionalism with speaking Spanish. For example, Fanny, a 28 years old lady who earned a college degree and a specialization degree in continental Colombia, thinks that non-professionals speak more Creole, while professionals speak more Spanish than Creole. Although her opinion is likely based on her personal experience, there were nine out of sixteen participants from this group who have been out of the islands either studying or working from 1 to up to 13 years. For some of them, this means nearly half of their life.

It is possible that being disconnected from the island for a period of time has helped some participants gain new perspectives, shift to a cold EV mode, and assess the Creole language as not socially or economically rewarding. This statement, however, cannot be generalized, as there were six participants from this group who have never been out of the island and one who has left only infrequently for short periods of time. Similarly, there are participants from the fluent Creole-speaking group who have studied and worked out of the islands for comparable periods of time and they have not shifted. These and other ideologies presented in this section may have an influence on how the languages are perceived, which is addressed in the next section.

6.2 SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE

Subjective perceptions of language are stereotypical representations of a language and its speakers, based on their physical appearance, psychological traits, social behaviors, origin, status, and speech habits, among other traits. These representations may ground the perception of a language as more or less vital. For example, if the speakers are perceived as socially high-ranked, well educated, and having a clear and well articulated speech, their language may be perceived as socially powerful and vital. However, the relationship between stereotypical representations and vitality is not simple and straightforward. Namely, these representations may rely on ethnic values that emphasize solidarity and social cohesion among the ethnic group members while strengthening ethnic boundaries and downplaying outsiders. Thus, the subjective perceptions of a language and its speakers can reveal some resistance to the social forces mobilizing language use and vitality outcomes (Karan, 2011, pp. 144-145). Both acceptance and resistance to social processes can coexist and be voiced through different representations of languages and speakers. If investigated using indirect strategies, these representations can complement the results from direct methods, such as the EV interview (see section 5.2), and provide a deeper understanding of the participants' linguistic attitudes.

For the investigation of the subjective perceptions of language, I implemented two main strategies: (1) an in-group open-ended perception task, and (2) an individual perception experiment. As described in the methods (chapter 3), the first strategy targeted the participants' free associations to a given speaker and his/her speech. In the discussion groups, each group

listened to two or three different speakers who were narrating a story in Creole, Spanish, or English. The pool of 32 narratives from 16 narrators (selected from the pilot study) included mainland Colombian Spanish speakers (4 Spanish narratives), American English speakers (4 English narratives), and Creole L1 speakers (8 Creole, 8 Spanish, and 8 English narratives). Upon listening to each of the two or up to three of these narratives, the participants were provided with an open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix G) that included questions such as *In your own words, how would you describe this person?* and *In your own words, how would you describe the speech of this person?* among others. These questions were intended as guiding questions on the participants' free associations. In the individual perception experiment, the fluent Creole-speaking participants from both islands listened to linguistic stimuli in a more controlled fashion and completed a paper-pen MG questionnaire (see Appendix H). This questionnaire was designed using a variety of emic categories that emerged from the participants' free associations obtained with the first strategy. The next two sections present the results from each of these two strategies.

6.2.1 Stereotypical perceptions of speech and speakers

In the in-group open-ended perception task, I found a broad variety of free associations to the speakers and the narrators' speech. These associations are highly stereotypical as they foster essentialist views of languages and their speakers as having a preset array of psychological traits, physical appearance, and distinctive linguistic features. As this was an in-group activity, the participants discussed their perceptions and responses. Rather than bitter discussions, the participants enjoyed the activity and found pleasure in trying to guess who the speakers were and where they were possibly from, pointing to possible characteristics of the speakers, and sharing their views. This was especially true for large discussion groups that included several subgroups in which the activity was shaped with laughs and jokes; at times, I found it difficult to keep the subgroups independent as they were eager to share their views quickly and loudly. These dynamics made the stereotypical responses pervasive and are reflective of solidarity levels among the ethnic group members.

The participants' free associations can be analyzed into two types: those related to speakers perceived as insiders (in-group members) and those related to speakers perceived as

outsiders. Most of the times, in-group members were accurately perceived as insiders and out of the group speakers were easily perceived as outsiders. There were, however, a few cases in which some out-group speakers were perceived as insiders and the participants discussed why they were considered as Raizals or Islanders. There were also other cases of in-group members perceived as outsiders and the participants characterized them as so. In what follows, I will summarize these and other free associations of the participants.

6.2.1.1 *Perceived insiders*. The participants' free associations can be grouped into (a) ethnic and physical descriptions of the story-narrators, (b) descriptions of their psychological traits and occupations or jobs, and (c) descriptions of their speech. Those of narrators perceived as insiders were profuse, in part because there were more narratives from Raizals (24/32) and also because their narratives triggered a larger amount of free associations than those from non-Raizals. For perceived insiders, the most common descriptors of ethnicity were *Raizal* and *Islander*, sometimes modified with adjectives emphasizing the narrator's ethnic authenticity, such as *real*, *truly, complete, authentic,* and *proud Raizal*. What the participants linked to Real Raizal is complex, but some associations are physical descriptions of skin color as *black*. Example (53a) portrays this feature as an index of authenticity and ethnic membership. This is an essentialist view as example (53b) profiles the narrator as *brown*, and I found other descriptors of skin color such as *little brown, clear skin,* and *white,* among others.

(53) a. A real Raizal. She is black, authentic. Probably she is thing (thin), black hear (hair), and a short person.

b. A young person. He sound like an islander. Brown, hefty, bald, good looking.

Perceived insiders were mostly represented as being *tall* and *hefty*, with strong and muscular bodies and *tick* or heavy voices, as shown in examples (54a) and (54b). Some of the participants described this feature as strong flesh or the Creole blood to mean that Raizals are corpulent and physically strong. The expressions *8,888 hair* in example (54b) and *kinki hair* in (54c) are iconic and stereotypical descriptions of Raizal's hair as being copiously curly. Other physical descriptors of perceived insiders included *gray-haired, beard* or *mustache,* and *bald,* as seen in examples (53b & 54a).

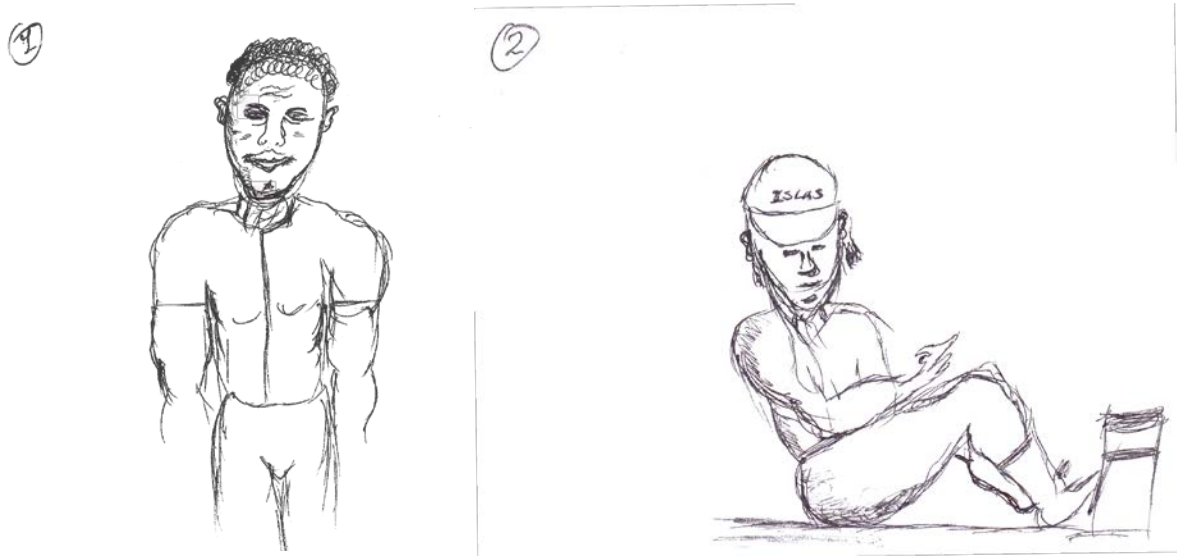
(54) a. It is an old man, Raizal, I imagined him brown and gray-haired, tall, with beard.

b. It is a Raizal man, black, tick voice, black skin, not tall, thick big lips, average nose, fat, curly hair, very curly, 8,888 [8,888 is an iconic expression for curly hair].

c. A young girl like 10, 12 years, a teenager. She is a Creole speaker. She is native. Dark skin, slim body, thin, not too tall. Curly hair, coarse, kinky hair. [*coarse* describes the hair texture, also as *hard hair* or *cabello duro*]

Figure 22 pictures these stereotypical representations of perceived insiders. The drawings were spontaneously done by Stanley, a participant from a discussion group in Brooks Hill Bilingual School when he was prompted to describe each of two narrators. The drawing on the left was triggered by Paul's voice, a 46 years old male from Providencia, who narrated the story in Creole. The drawing on the right was triggered by Norman, an 18 years old male from San Andrés, who narrated the story in English.

Figure 22. Islander drawings picturing two Raizal narrators perceived as insiders



(These figures are part of the data collected for this dissertation and were drawn by Stanley, a research participant)

Most of the descriptions of perceived insiders emphasized positive traits, such as authenticity. While these descriptions are expected as solidarity responses to narrators perceived as insiders, there were also cases of descriptions with negative connotations. The participants' free associations in example (55) pictured a perceived insider as *awful*, mocked his potential

sexual orientation, and described his voice as *weird* and *gay*. These associations with negative connotations usually emerged when the perceived insiders were narrating in a language other than Creole, such as the speaker described in example (55) who was narrating in Spanish. This suggests that in-group members might be scorned when using/shifting to a language other than their native language. This may be important for the subjective EV as it may suggest the existence of some social pressure to keep using the Creole language.

(55) Awful! A male that thinks that he is a female. Gay, he has a weird voice, a gay voice […] Dark skin, thin, medium complexion, medium height.

The participants appeared to have been sensitive to any possible index of the narrators' ethnic membership. A Creole L1 male speaker, 46 years old, from San Andrés who was narrating the story in English was described in example (56a) as having been in touch with Americans. This statement emerged as an explanation of the narrator having a "very good pronunciation in English" which was reasoned as a likely effect of being in touch with Americans. The example places side by side this statement with the description of the narrator being "very brown," as a way to recover his ethnicity on the basis of phenotype, despite his American pronunciation. This contrasts with example (56b) in which an American English L1 speaker was perceived as an insider and described as an "*Islander Raizal* […] *from here.*" The participants stated that he is not American and then provided stereotypical descriptors of Raizals as being *tall* and *hefty*.

(56) a. An old person who has be in touch with Americans. Tall and thin. Brown man, very brown.
b. He is Islander Raizal. He is from here, the one that gives money for the islanders. He is not American. He is tall, hefty. He uses long sleeves [Ned: older adult male, American English L1 speaker from Ohio who was perceived as an insider].

On psychological traits and occupations or jobs, the perceived insiders were associated to traditional activities such as *fisher* or *farmer* in examples (57a and b) or occupations that resulted from the tourist industry such as *seller* and *taxi driver* in examples (57c and d). These occupations were paired with psychological traits such as being *radical, correct, serious*, and *expressive* (57a), displaying *excitement* for oral stories and nature (57b), and being *modest* (57c).

There were descriptions of perceived insiders as both *introverted* and *sad* (57c), and as *extroverted* and *sociable* (57d).

(57) a. A fisherman. A radical person, correct, serious. Expressive.
b. This person is probably a farmer […] is very excited about plants and stories.
c. He sells coco-loco drinks. Modest, few resources, sad, introverted.
d. A taxi driver. An extroverted person, sociable, claridoso [clear]. Good mood, tranquil.

Other dominant descriptions of perceived insiders pointed to teachers (example 58a) and students (example 58b) as possible occupations. The first one is probably based on the perception of the stories as being witty, while the second one is likely based on the perception of young age. In both cases, the participants' emphasized the narrators' skills, their display of passion and enjoyment of the stories, and the perception of cultural empathy (58a) and friendliness (58b). This suggests that narrative skills continue being an important asset of Raizal culture, as described in section 1.2.5.3. The importance of this feature may have led to the perception of out-group narrators as insiders, such as example (58c), in which the participants highlighted the descriptive abilities of a Colombian mainland narrator who was perceived as an insider. The participants believed he must be a teacher, an educated and well travelled person. Namely, if it is a good story, it must be a Raizal narrator and this feature may have prevailed over other perceivable features of this specific narrator.

(58) a. Maybe, she is a teacher or poet. We feel the passion that she is narrating with. She is sure. A person that like his (her) culture.
b. A student. School age. She goes to First Baptist School or Brooks Hill. Interested, dynamic in her narration. She was enjoying. Open spirit, friendly to each person.
c. It is a retired person. He has travelled and studied. He is educated. He is relax at his house. He must be a teacher, a mature, educated person. Goes to church. He likes to read. He has an incredible descriptive ability, very descriptive, observer. He writes a lot [Simon: older adult male, Spanish L1 speaker from mainland Colombia, who was perceived as an insider]

On speech, the participants' free-associations of perceived insiders were different for each language of narration. Creole narratives triggered associations of strength, vitality authenticity, fluency, expressiveness, while pointing to specific Raizal settlements in which

Creole is traditionally spoken, such as San Luis and the Hill in San Andrés, as in example (59a). Example (59b) pointed to descriptive features stereotypically related to the Creole language, such as the absence of auxiliary verbs, and past tense forms. These features are also linked to descriptions of clarity, understandability, and the unrushed timing of speech. These descriptions of understandability, clarity, strength, vitality, and authenticity in the speech add to other stereotypical perceptions of Raizals; namely, an authentic/real/complete/proud Raizal appears to be one who speaks Creole natively and displays full command of the mother tongue.

(59) a. Creole. He is expressive, speaks well. He feels what he is saying. From San Andrés, San Luis, La Loma *porque está hablando bien*, full el Patois (because he is speaking well, full Patois)

b. Creole. He did not use past tense forms, or auxiliary verbs, his accent, the words. It is understandable, clear, unrushed.

Spanish narratives triggered different associations from those above. There was a perception of Islander accent and the narrators' Spanish was usually described as unnatural or forced (example 60a). The participants pointed to specific features leading these descriptions, such as perceived vocabulary issues and a perceived lack of fluency. In some cases, the participants acknowledge that, despite these perceived issues, the narrators' Spanish is understandable for someone who speaks Spanish as an additional language. There were also some positive associations of Spanish narratives as clear, expressive, and lovely, whose narrators were described as well-spoken (example 60b). This includes a few cases of Spanish L1 speakers perceived as insiders, such as the narrator from example (60c), who was perceived as having islander accent, being very fluent, and using tenses appropriately. Overall, it appears that the participants' associations to Spanish narratives lacked the emotional traits triggered by Creole narratives and were based mostly on linguistic performance.

(60) a. It was a little forced Spanish as Creole is his mother tongue.

b. It is a Raizal speaking Spanish. His Spanish speech is from here. It is a well speaking person. He expresses himself very well, a very clear way of speaking. Good speaking. He talks lovely.

c. A Raizal speaking Spanish. From Town. He has an islander accent, very fluent but unrushed. He uses tenses appropriately, articulate well [Roland: young adult male, Spanish L1 speaker from mainland Colombia, who was perceived as an insider].

Finally, English narratives of perceived insiders also triggered negative associations. There was a general perception of ungrammaticality, apparently based on pronunciation and morphosyntactic features, as in example (61a). The perception of Creole and English mixture was dominant and some participants pointed out that *combining* the languages is commonplace in the islands (example 61b). The perceived mixed language was labeled with different terms, such as *Creolized English* and *Caribbean English* (see section 7.2.1). Consistent with the ideology of Providencian speech as more respectable (see section 6.1.1.3), this island was taken as a reference point for 'good and fluent English', so that narratives perceived as fluent were assigned that origin and linked to an alleged British heritage, whereas narratives perceived as non-fluent were denied such possible origin. This ideological association of 'fluent and good English' to Providencia may have led to the perception of non-Raizals narrators as insiders, such as the American English L1 speaker in example (61c), whose speech was described as careful and being original from Providencia.

(61) a. He is completely without grammar. […] He does not have the tools, past, present, pronunciation problems.

b. Creole/inglish (sic) combined, just as us San Andres and Providencia people.

c. Clear English […] She sounds like Providencia. They talk more like care. We [from San Andrés] are more aggressive imposing our character [Lannie: older adult female, American English L1 speaker from Pennsylvania, who was perceived as insider].

Other cases of 'fluent and right English' from perceived insiders were associated to the speaker's intention of boosting on his/her English skills, if linked to American English, as in example (62). This relates to the ideology of sounding fake (see section 6.1.1.5) and connects to the concept of *Yanking*, an emic category to describe someone who pretends to speak American English, which is perceived as inauthentic. In an individual interview, one of the participants said, "yo me río de esos muchachos que quieren hablar inglés y les digo <<¿para qué se muerden la lengua?>>" (*I laugh at those folks who want to talk English and tell them <<why would you bit your tongue?>>*) Here, the speaker relates *morderse la lengua* 'biting your tongue' to the pronunciation of interdental English sounds (e.g. [θ] in *<u>th</u>ieves*) that are not found in Creole.

(62) American English. […] He handles the language very well. We notice the effort to use the right words. He likes to boost on his American pronunciation.

Why an Islander was perceived as bragging about his alleged American accent (example 62), while an American English speaker was perceived as being from Providencia (example 61c) is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but overall there was an ideological perception of speech. For example, the perceived Creole-English mixing tended to be rejected, while 'fluent and non-mixed' English was perceived as being original from Providencia and inherited from England, as long as that English does not appear fake or belonging to other people (Americans).

6.2.1.2 *Perceived outsiders*. Perceived outsiders were narrators perceived as non-Raizals speaking either Spanish or English. Most of the perceived outsiders were indeed mainland Colombian Spanish L1 speakers or American English L1 speakers, even though there were a few cases of in-group members who were perceived as outsiders. The perceived outsiders speaking English were usually associated to general categories such as a foreigner in example (63a) along with prototypical descriptors of physical appearance of Anglos such as tall, white, and straight hair. Most of the times, they were described as English teachers, with good education and intellectual abilities, as in example (63b). Their speech was usually given positive descriptors, such as speaking well, and using excellent vocabulary with right words, clarity, and absence of switch in example (63c).

(63) a. A foreigner. Tall, white, straight hair.
b. English teacher. An educated person, intellectual. Very good mood, she feels happy.
c. English. She has the right words, excellent vocabulary. Clear, detailed. She doesn't switch.

There were some cases in which these narrators' speech was defined as lacking the 'Creole blood' or being 'non-Patois' (example 64a), as opposed to Creole narratives. Although example 64a shows a perception of *quickness* and the inability of the participants to *catch it* or understand the narrator's speech, there was no negative association of perceived English-speaking outsiders. There was, however, an in-group member who was perceived as an outsider and she received descriptions of professionalism, *collaborative* attitudes, happiness and possibly being a poet (example 64b). This suggests that the negative associations to English narratives may hold for perceived insiders but lifted if the English narrator is perceived as an outsider.

(64) a. It wasn't Patois. He speaks nice, very good. Very quickly, I couldn't catch it.

b. A housewife, school teacher, or poet. Very collaborative, professional narration according to the environment, dazzle, happy spirit [Leanora: older adult female, Creole L1 speaker from San Andrés (San Luis), perceived as an outsider]

Perceived outsiders speaking Spanish also triggered stereotypical associations of physical appearance such as being white, and having straight hair and brown eyes, as in example (65a). However, there were also persistently negative associations to the perceived Spanish-speaking outsiders such as 'marimacha' (a female not looking feminine) (example 65b), being unsure and boring, having low self-esteem, being lack of energy, depressed, and doing things just for doing them (example 65c).

(65) a. She is an authentic Colombian, rola, Bogotana, like Madre Superior, director of XY school. White color, black straight hair, coffee [brown] eyes, like Henry's wife.
b. Sharp and slim body. She is a paña, a marimacha (tomboy) [a woman with male appearance].
c. She doesn't work, study at XY or maybe she is a seller at XY store. Unsure, low self-esteem. Boring, bitter, bad mood, depressed, sick, doing things just for doing.

Some participants perceived an accent from Barranquilla and Cartagena (example 66), which are the most popular geographical origins of Continental Colombians living in San Andrés. The use of the derogatory term *paña* (<España) to describe these speakers confirms the negative associations triggered by their speech. Although the pool of narrators had no Spanish speakers from these regions and no continentals living in the islands, the participants' statements are informative, given that the negative associations of Spanish speakers may be propelled by underlying ideologies, such as *They are trying to put the whole Colombia in this small 26km^2 island* (see sections 6.1.2.1 and 1.2.1.3), *Los pañas tienen bebes como ratas* 'pañas have babies like rats' (see section 6.1.2.2), and *Es el propio Sodoma* 'It is Sodom itself' (see section 6.1.2.3 and 4.1.1). Both the perceptions of languages and the underlying ideologies are important for the subjective EV since they may indicate a defensive response of Raizals against the threat that Spanish represents (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011). Whether or not the perception of linguistic input is a systematic function of the input-language is analyzed in the next section.

(66) Talk like a paña. Tired. She talk like she was tired. Acento cartagenero, barranquillero, costeño *(Cartagenero, Barranquillero, Coast accent)*

6.2.2 The perception of speech as a function of the input-language

The qualitative analysis from the previous section suggests that a series of free associations to speakers and their speech could be different for each language (Creole, Spanish, or English) and depend on whether or not the narrator is perceived as an insider or as an outsider. In this section, I will analyze whether or not these differences are systematic in a way that they become statistically significant in a more controlled experimental setting. To reduce speaker variability, from the pool of speakers used in the in-group perception task and in the pilot study, I only included two Creole L1 speakers in an experimental condition: Erin (from San Andrés) and Belkis (from Providencia). Similarly, I only included two speakers in a control condition: Julieth (American English speaker) and Kiara (mainland Colombian Spanish speaker). As described in chapter 3, all of them were young females with fluent narrations and similar narrative style, narrative length, and expressive language.

The 24 fluent Creole-speaking participants from each island were organized in two totally balanced subsets of 12 listeners (with equal number of males (6) and females (6) and young (6) and older adults (6) in each listener subset) and assigned a listening position from 1 to 12. The participants from San Andrés individually listened to three narratives from Belkis (in Creole, Spanish, and English), one narrative from Julieth (in English) and one narrative from Kiara (in Spanish). Those from Providencia listened to three narratives from Erin (in Creole, Spanish, and English) and Julieth and Kiara's narratives. Seven narratives from Creole L1 speakers (in Creole, Spanish, and English) were included as fillers in the stimuli pool for all listener subsets. The stimuli-sequence was controlled, so that the stimulus sequence was different for each of the twelve listening positions, and there were two listeners per listening position in each island (see chapter 3 for more details on the methods).

Once the listener listened to each narrative, he/she filled out a paper-pen MG questionnaire. This questionnaire was designed in the field using the emic categories that emerged from the in-group open-ended perception task. This locally designed questionnaire was advantageous to aim at the participants' perspectives using their own categories (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 72; Gaies & Beebe, 1991, p. 167), given that the terms chosen can be considered reflective of native categorizations of speakers and their speech. In the next section, I will present the emic categories emerging from the in-group perception task described in section

6.2.1 and which of them were submitted to the MG questionnaire. The last subsection presents the specific results from the MG refined questionnaire.

6.2.2.1 *The local categories*. In the open-ended perception task, there was plenty of emerging emic categories used spontaneously by the participants to describe the narrators and their speech. Some of these categories were exemplified in the previous section. I found two main types of descriptive terms: (1) gradual terms and (2) categorical terms. Gradual terms were subject to a series of gradual or successive degrees in which the participants located a narrator or his/her speech. Figure 23 shows an example of a group of gradual terms (with token-frequency) that the participants used to describe the narrators as distributed in a series of different shades of skin color: white, clear skin, little brown, brown, dark skin, and black. Brown was the most frequent term with 52 tokens, followed by black with 32 tokens and white with 25 tokens. Once the group was formed, I decided which of the terms could be prototypically representative of the scale boundaries, in this case *black* and *white*. Once these decisions were made, the gradual category Black_White was submitted to the MG questionnaire. Other examples included Young_Old (which included Little girl/boy, Teenager, Young, Adult, *Mayor* 'older', Old) and Tall_Short (which included Tall, Medium Height, Short). All gradual categories were submitted to the first part of the MG questionnaire as a list of 6-point Likert scales.

Categorical terms were those that did not appear distributed in a series of gradual stages. These terms were used to describe the narrators and their speech as having or not having a feature, for example, teacher, student, fisher, and farmer, among other categories emerged. While somebody can be described as being a more or less prototypical sample of a teacher, being a less prototypical sample of teacher does not make that person a more prototypical sample of a student. For categorical terms, I only made groups of terms that were used with a similar meaning, such as teacher, educator, professor, *docente* 'teacher', and then decided which term can be most representative of the given group. Similar to gradual terms, I made several groups of categorical terms and decided which of them can be representative of each group. All categorical terms were submitted to the second part of the MG questionnaire as a list of optional items that the listener may or may not choose depending on his/her free associations to the speaker.

Figure 23. Example of a gradual category: Black_White

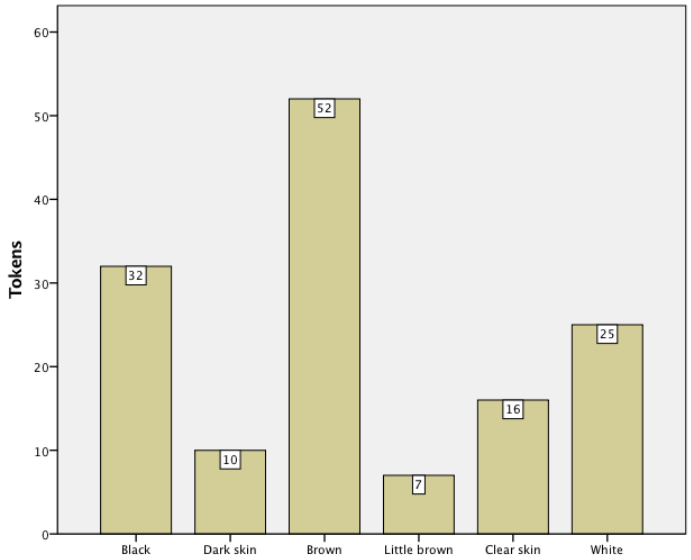
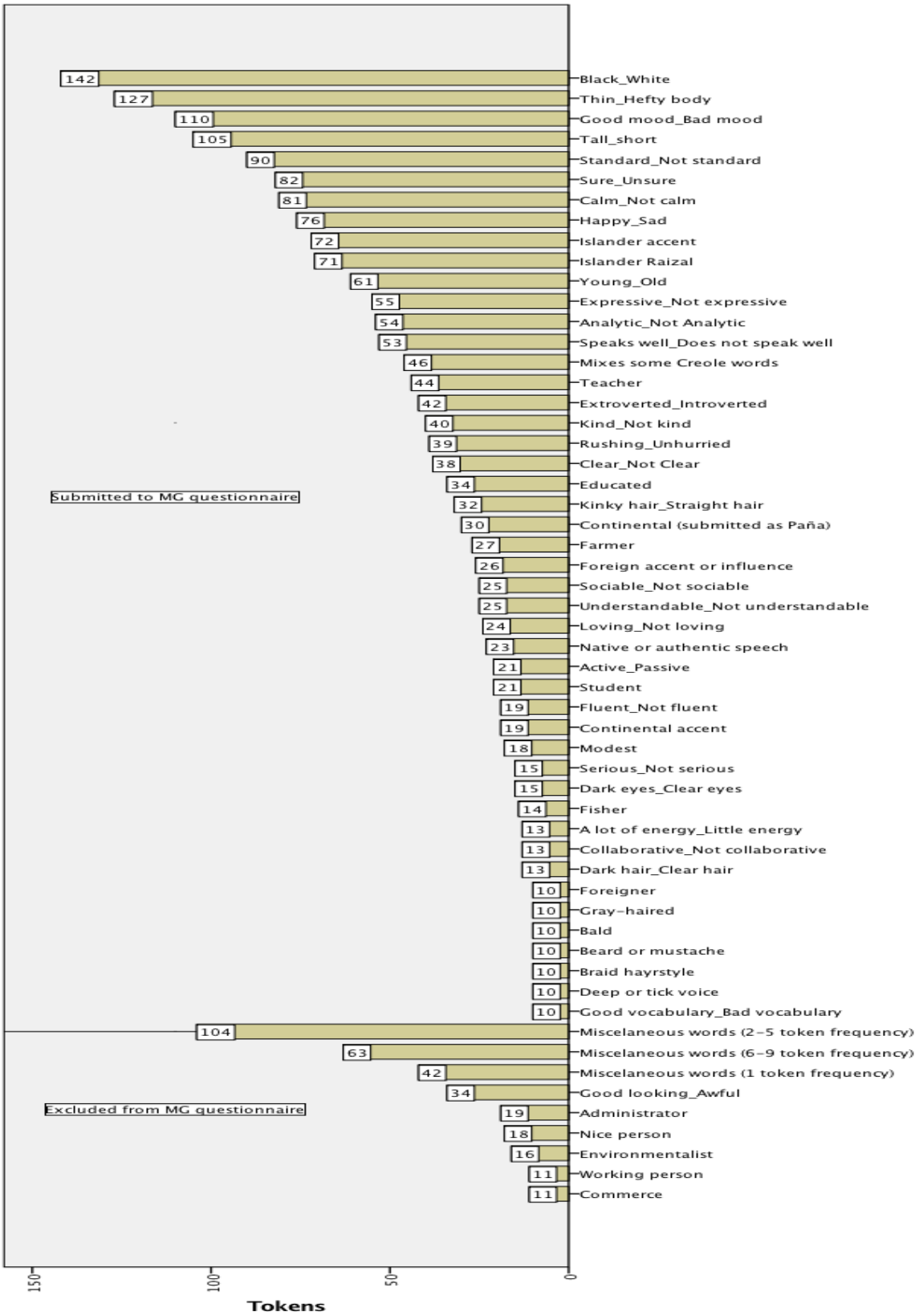


Figure 24 plots all gradual and categorical emic terms that were considered representative of their respective groups of terms. The number of tokens for each category is displayed in the figure, as not all terms were equally frequent. For the MG questionnaire, I only retained those with a frequency of at least 10 tokens. There were some terms with higher frequencies that were excluded. For example, I considered 'Good looking_Awful', 'Nice person', and 'Working person' very general and preferred to include more specific terms (e.g. Thin_Hefty body, Kind_Not kind, Passive_Active). 'Environmentalist' was not included because it is likely an effect of the ecological content of the story. 'Administrator' and 'Commerce' were not included as these terms along with Teacher were mostly associated to perceived outsiders. Of the lot, I only retained the most frequent category (Teacher) and included other activities usually related to perceived insiders, such as Farmer and Fisher. There was a number of miscellaneous words with token-frequencies lower than 10 and these were also excluded from the MG questionnaire.

Figure 24. Emic categories emerging from open-ended perception task



6.2.2.2 *The MG questionnaire results*. An individual item analysis of the gradual categories (e.g. Young_Old) showed that for Creole narratives, most of the scales were tailing to the terms on the left of the scale, except for a few cases. In order to have the scales tailed in the same direction and use only one statistical model, I reversed three scales that did not have negative adverbs (e.g. not analytic) and that were tailing to the right terms of the scales: (1) Thin_Hefty body was reversed as Hefty_Thin, (2) Dark eyes_Clear eyes was reversed as Clear eyes_Dark eyes, (3) Introverted_Extroverted was reversed as Extroverted_Introverted. As a result, Hefty body, Clear eyes, and Extroverted, aligned with other gradual categories that the listeners related to Creole narratives. Once these adjustments were made, I computed the great means for each language narrative (Creole, Spanish, English) including all gradual terms.

These data were submitted to a mixed ANOVA for each island, given that the participants from each island listened to different narrators (Belkis in San Andrés; Erin in Providencia). In both cases, the input language (the language of the narrative) was set as the repeated factor with three levels: (1) Creole_great mean, (2) Spanish_great mean, and (3) English_great mean. Age and survey language (the survey language that the participant chose) were included as independent factors. Age had two levels: (1) Young adults (born in or after 1985), and (2) Older adults (born before 1985). Survey language also had two levels: (1) English (the participant chose to answer an English survey), and (2) Spanish (the participant chose to answer a Spanish survey).

Table 46 displays the means and standard deviations for the three languages in both islands both overall (great means) and across the independent factors. The assumptions of normality, sphericity, and homogeneity of covariance were met for both tests. In the repeated factor, there were significant differences between the input-languages in San Andrés, $F_{.05}\ (2, 40) = 10.322,\ p < .001,\ \eta^2 = .34$ but not in Providencia, $F_{.05}\ (2, 40) = .311,\ p = .734,\ \eta^2 = .015$. In San Andrés, Spanish had the lowest mean (M = 4.44, SD = .40), as compared to Creole (M = 4.63, SD = .27) and English (M = 4.67, SD = .25), while in Providencia the three languages had the same mean (around 4.3). Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni correction showed that, in San Andrés, Spanish was different from both English ($p = .003$) and Creole ($p = .009$), as shown in Table 47. On the other hand, Age (San Andrés, $p = .797$; Providencia; ($p = .912$) and Survey language (San Andrés, $p = .429$; Providencia; $p = .655$) were not significant in any of the islands.

Table 46. Means and standard deviations for input-language by island

	San Andres (Belkis's voice)					Providencia (Erin's voice)				
	N	Creole	Spanish	English	Sig	N	Creole	Spanish	English	Sig
Great mean	24	4.63	4.44	4.67	**<.001***	24	4.39	4.34	4.32	.734
SD		.27	.40	.25			.52	.36	.54	
Age					.797					.912
Young adults	12	4.71	4.41	4.68		12	4.42	4.28	4.23	
SD		.23	.33	.27			.51	.27	.48	
Older adults	12	4.54	4.47	4.67		12	4.35	4.39	4.36	
SD		.31	.48	.25			.55	.44	.61	
Survey language					.429					.655
English	15	4.53	4.42	4.67		13	4.37	4.41	4.38	
SD		.25	.33	.24			.59	.42	.62	
Spanish	9	4.77	4.47	4.68		11	4.42	4.25	4.26	
SD		.28	.53	.29			.46	.27	.45	

Table 47. Pairwise comparisons for input-language in San Andrés

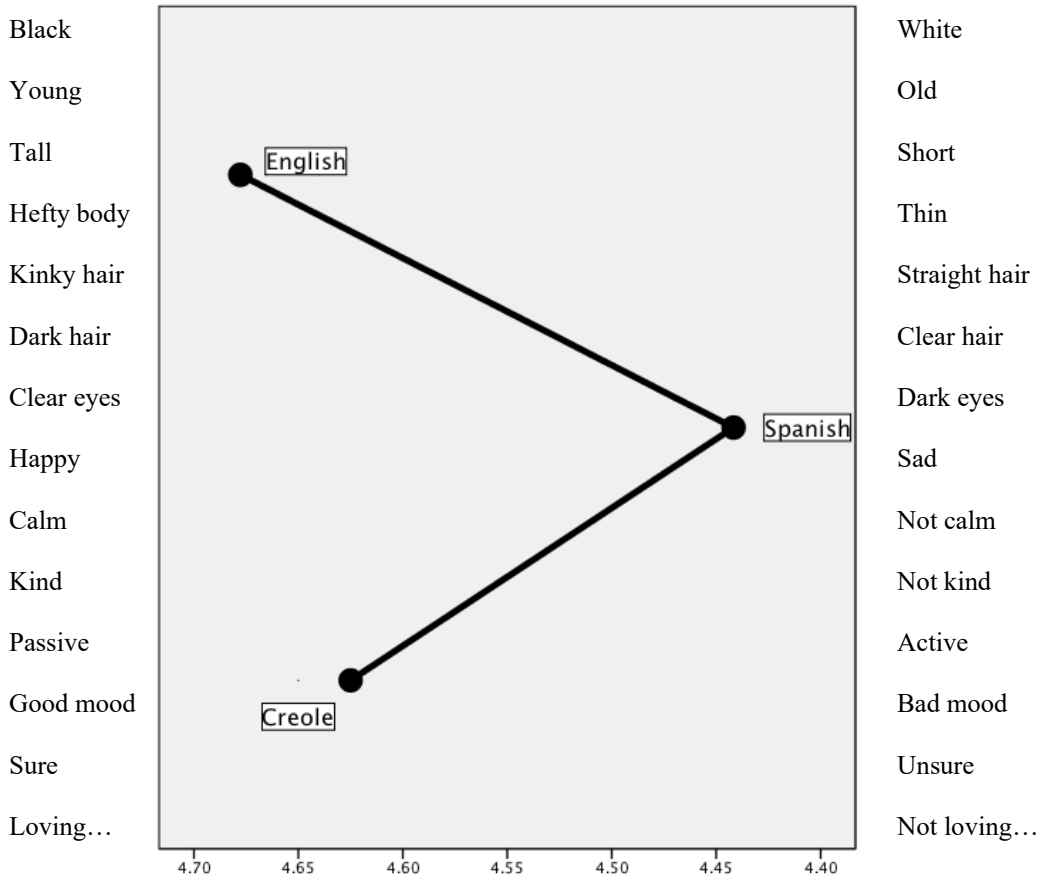
Groups		Mean difference	Sig☼	Lower bound	Upper bound
Creole	Spanish	.183	.047*	.002	.365
	English	-.053	.950	-.186	.080
Spanish	Creole	-.183	.047*	-.365	-.002
	English	-.236	.004*	-.405	-.068
English	Creole	.053	.950	-.080	.186
	Spanish	-.236	.004*	.068	.405

☼ Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni

* Significant at the .05 level.

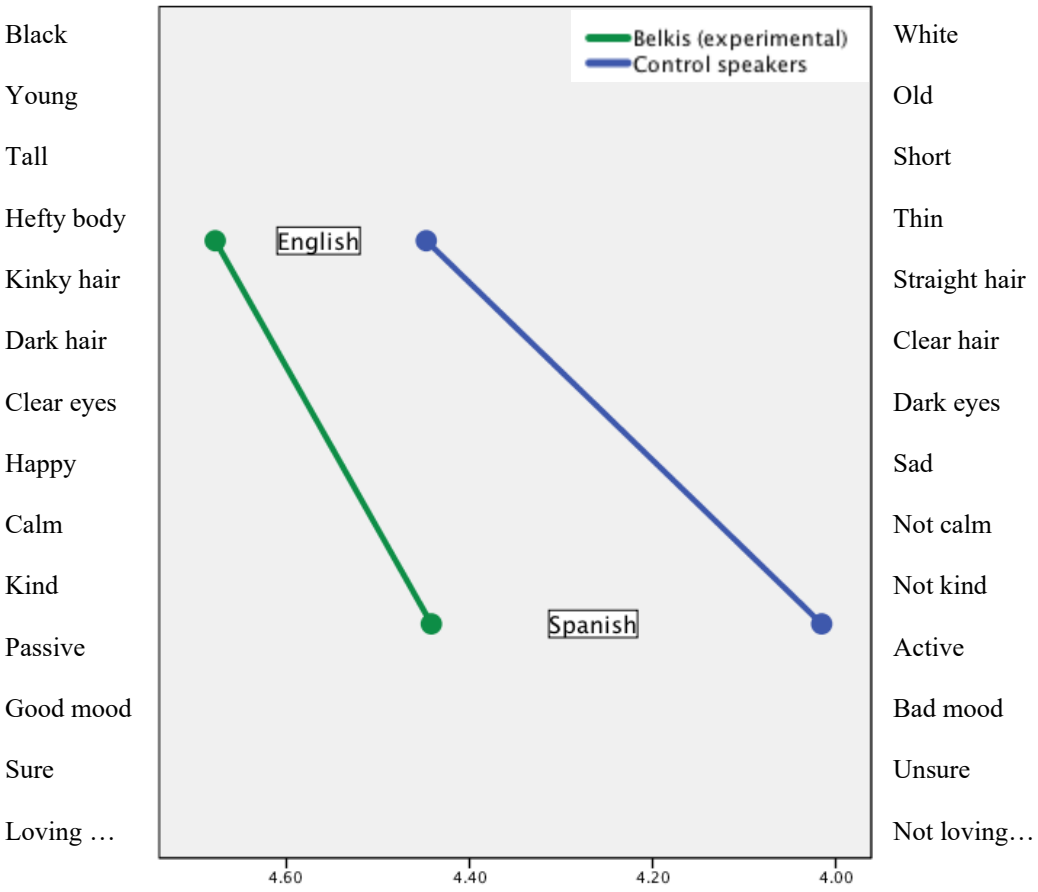
As plotted in Figure 25, these results mean that the listeners from San Andrés tended to relate Belkis to the gradual terms on the right when she was speaking Spanish, but to the terms on the left when she was speaking English or Creole. Thus, the listeners perceived the speaker differently depending on the language she was speaking. These differences may entail an ideological perception of the languages and their speakers. Depending on the content of the terms, these patterns may also indicate a negative attitude toward Spanish speakers (e.g bad mood, not educated, not serious).

Figure 25. Language means for gradual terms in San Andrés



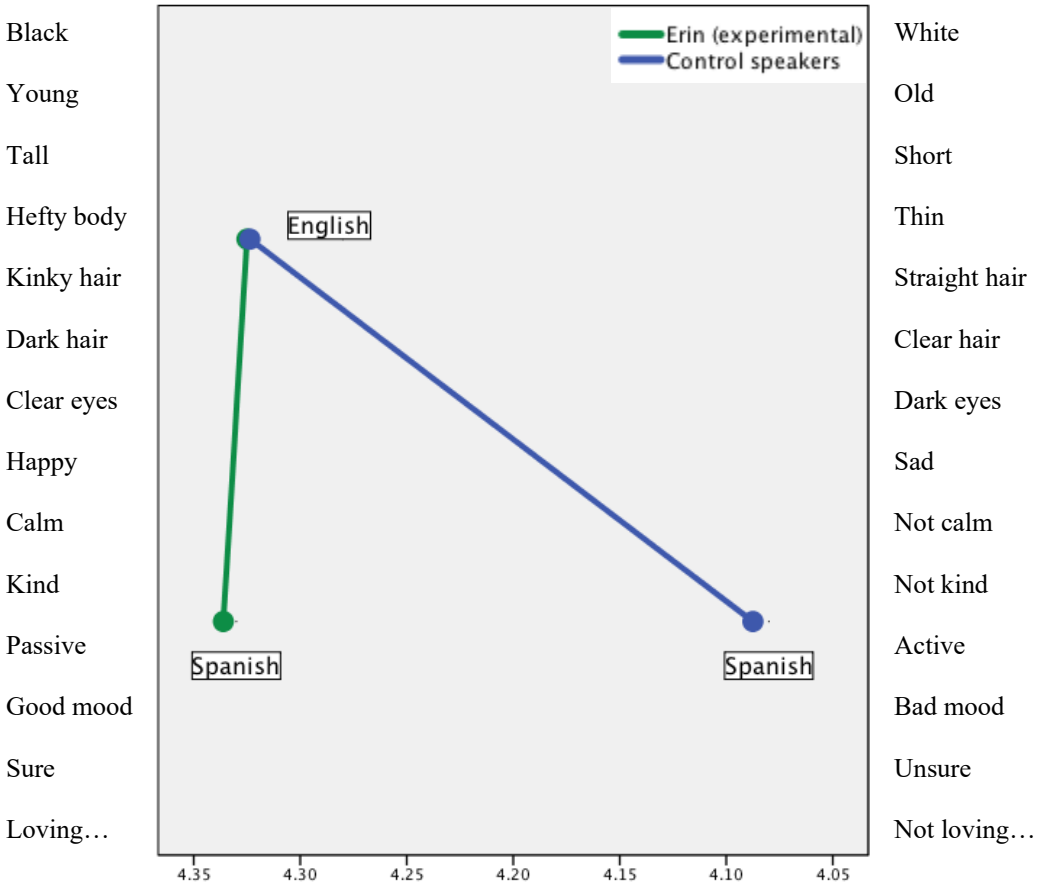
A further analysis of the Latin square design (Keppel & Wickens, 2004) indicated that carryover effects (e.g. training, fatigue) were not significant in any of the islands (San Andrés, $p = .494$, Providencia, $p = .362$) and, therefore, the results hold regardless of the position of the stimuli in the stimuli string. When compared to control speakers, there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) between Belkis and control speakers in San Andrés, while the differences between the Spanish and English stimuli hold. As shown in Figure 26, Belkis (green line) had higher means in English (M = 4.67) and Spanish (M = 4.44) and was closer to the gradual terms on the left, as compared to the control speakers, who had comparatively lower means both in English (M = 4.44) and in Spanish (M = 4.02). These results suggest that Raizals speaking Spanish and English were more stereotypically related to the terms on the left, than their non-Raizal counterparts. Among all, Kiara (a continental Colombian Spanish speaker) had the lowest mean and was more stereotypically related to the terms on the right.

Figure 26. Language means for experimental and control speakers in San Andrés



In Providencia, the differences between Erin (experimental) and the control speakers were not significant ($p = .207$) and the differences between languages remain insignificant. There was, however, a significant interaction ($p = .024$) between language and the speaker condition given that control speakers had different means per language (English, M = 4.32; Spanish, M = 4.09) whereas Erin had about the same mean across both English (M = 4.33) and Spanish (M = 4.34). As depicted in Figure 27, this result means that in Providencia all the stimuli were given about the same rates but Kiara's, who was more stereotypically related to terms on the right. Depending on the content of the terms, this may suggest a negative attitude towards Spanish speakers, which appears to be less strong than in San Andrés.

Figure 27. Significant interaction between language and speaker condition in Providencia

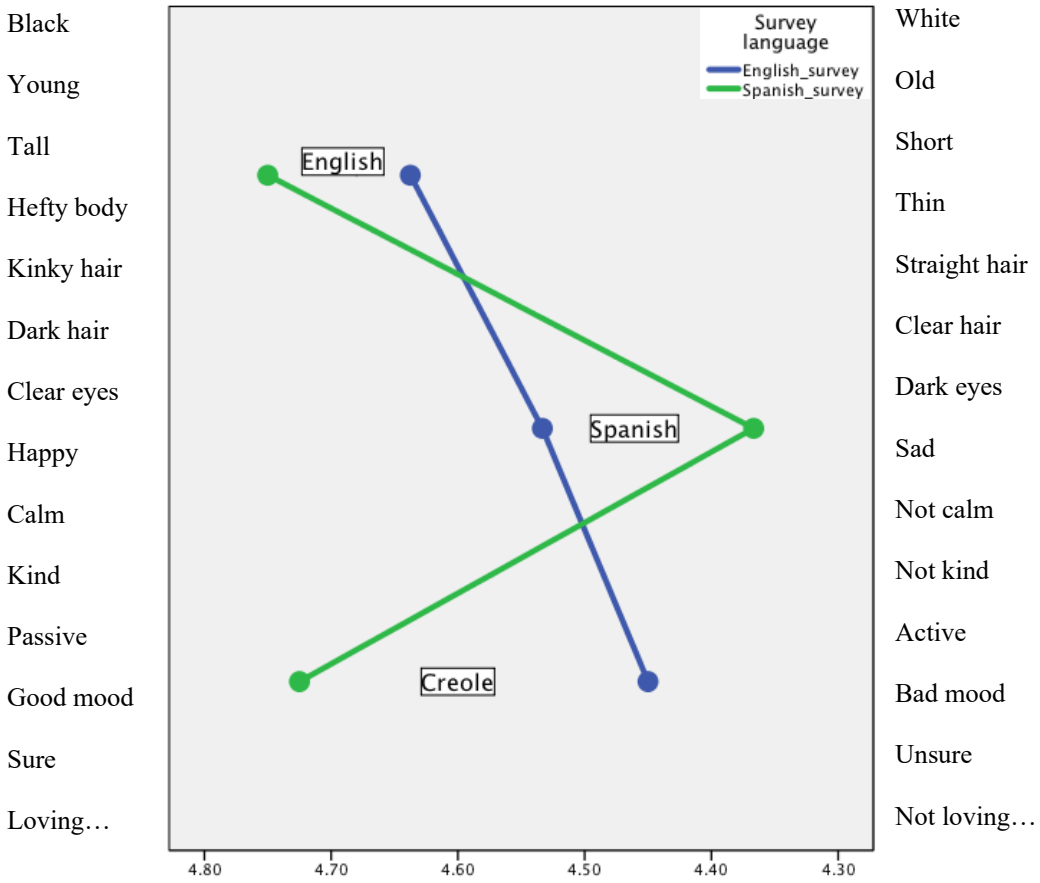


Overall, these trends are consistent with the ideologies of interethnic discordance (see section 6.1.2) and an overall hot EV mode (see section 6.1.3) in San Andrés, given the overwhelming demographic (see section 4.1) and sociohistorical circumstances (see section 1.2.1) faced in this island. In Providencia, on the other hand, the listeners perceived Erin similarly, regardless of the language she was speaking, which is consistent with no overt perceptions of interethnic discordance and the cool EV mode in which the participants from this island appeared to operate. Although Kiara (continental Colombia) also received comparatively lower scores in Providencia, the differences with Erin were not as prominent as they were in San Andrés.

❖ The language of survey

Although the language of survey was not a significant factor, there was a significant three-way interaction ($p = .024$) between the input language, age, and the survey language in San Andrés. As shown in Figure 28, this was because the older adults who answered an English survey gave Belkis' English narrative significantly higher means as compared to her Creole narrative, which received the lowest means, whereas those who answered a Spanish survey followed the general pattern of this island: Spanish input receiving the lowest mean, as compared to Creole and English. The young adults, on the other hand, showed similar trends regardless of the survey language, so that Spanish input received the lowest mean, as compared to Creole and English. No interaction of this type was observed in Providencia.

Figure 28. The language of survey among older adult listeners from San Andrés

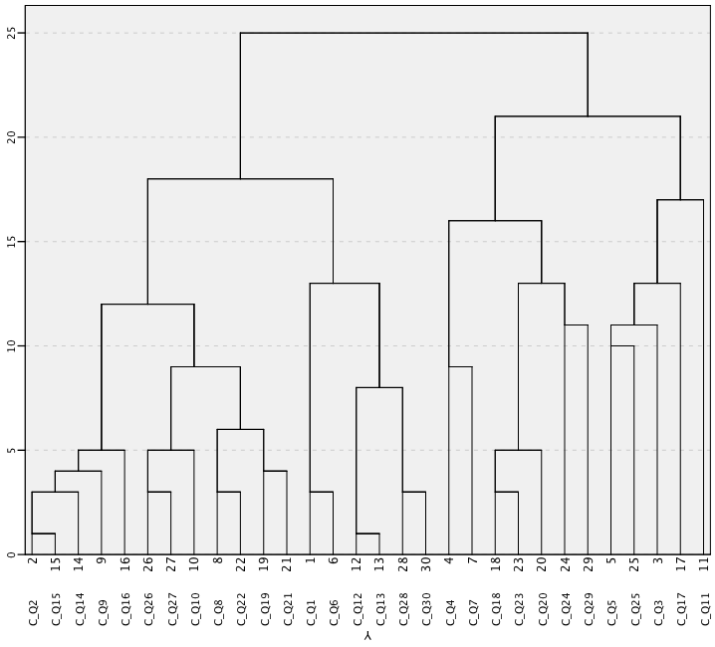


Overall, this result suggests that the choice of the language of survey might have been ideologically driven. Therefore, the adults who chose English as their language of survey appeared to be more oriented to English as a model language and therefore they assigned Belkis's English narrative the highest means, while assigning the lowest mean to her Creole narrative. This is consistent with the ideology of adults speaking and being oriented to a variety that is allegedly closer to standard varieties of English and, therefore, Creole is downplayed.

❖ Clusters of gradual terms

I further conducted a hierarchical clustering analysis of all gradual terms using the results from the Creole narratives from both Belkis and Erin. As shown in Figure 29, the analysis showed that the terms can be grouped into two clusters, which are joined by the outermost line. The first cluster corresponds to the gradual terms with higher means for both Belkis (M = 5.05) and Erin (M = 4.73), and the second cluster corresponds to those with lower means for both Belkis (M = 3.99) and Erin (M = 3.88). Recall that the higher the means the more related the speaker is to terms on the left of the scales and the lower the means, the more related the speaker is to terms on the right of the scales. Table 48 displays the means for all gradual terms.

Figure 29. Clustering analysis of gradual terms



The means for each cluster show that, when speaking Creole, Belkis and Erin were more stereotypically perceived as black, young, dark haired, happy, calm, kind, sure, loving, educated, serious, sociable, collaborative, and expressive, with good mood, a lot of energy, understandable speech, good vocabulary, and speaking well. On the other hand, they were less sterotypically related to other gradual terms, such as tall, hefty body, kinky hair, clear eyes, passive, extroverted, modest, and analytic. Their speech was stereotypically perceived as less fluent, less clear, unhurried, and less standard. Because Belkis scored higher in both clusters, she was more stereotypically related to all terms on the left than Erin.

Table 48. Clusters of gradual terms with means for Belkis and Erin

Cluster 1			Cluster 2		
Creole narratives	Belkis	Erin	Creole narratives	Belkis	Erin
(Q1) Black_White	4.46	4.42	(Q3) Tall_Short	3.58	3.92
(Q2) Young_Old	5.13	5.42	(Q4) Hefty body_Thin	3.29	3.54
(Q6) Dark hair_Clear hair	4.96	4.71	(Q5) Kinky hair_Straight hair	4.08	3.63
(Q8) Happy_Sad	5.13	5.04	(Q7) Clear eyes_Dark eyes	2.67	3.00
(Q9) Calm_Not calm	5.04	5.13	(Q11) Passive_Active	3.67	4.67
(Q10) Kind_Not kind	5.21	4.92	(Q17) Extroverted_Introverted	3.83	3.42
(Q12) Good mood_Bad mood	5.25	4.58	(Q18) Modest_Not modest	4.67	4.79
(Q13) Sure_Unsure	5.46	4.54	(Q20) Analytic_Not analytic	4.63	4.46
(Q14) Loving_Not loving	4.88	5.25	(Q23) Fluent_Not fluent	4.96	4.25
(Q15) Educated_Not educated	5.08	5.25	(Q24) Clear_Not clear	4.54	4.08
(Q16) Serious_Not serious	4.75	4.71	(Q25) Rushing_Unhurried	3.58	3.00
(Q19) Sociable_Not sociable	5.42	4.21	(Q29) Standard_Not standard	4.38	3.83
(Q21) Collaborative_Not collaborative	5.04	4.63			
(A22) A lot of energy_Little energy	5.00	4.29			
(Q26) Understandable_Not understandable	5.25	5.04			
(Q27) Expressive_Not expressive	5.08	4.33			
(Q28) Good vocabulary_Bad vocabulary	4.92	4.25			
(Q30) Speaks well_Does not speak well	4.83	4.42			
Average	5.05	4.73	Average	3.99	3.88

The association of narrators to gradual terms on the left or the right of the scales may also depend on the language spoken in each narrative. However, given that the islands are a multilingual setting and most of the listeners declared to be Creole, Spanish, and English trilinguals, we would need to examine what they perceived as Creole, English, or Spanish. Table 49 displays the estimate of language spoken in the rows by the input language (the language in which the narrator was narrating) in the columns. The left panel displays the results for Belkis who was listened to in San Andrés, and the right panel displays the results for Erin, who was listened to in Providencia. While all listeners estimated the Spanish narratives as Spanish, half or nearly half of them estimated the English narratives as Creole in both islands. Nearly all listeners (96%) from San Andrés estimated Belkis' Creole narrative as Creole, while an important 17% of the listeners from Providencia estimated Erin's Creole narrative as English.

Table 49. Input-language by estimate of language spoken for experimental speakers

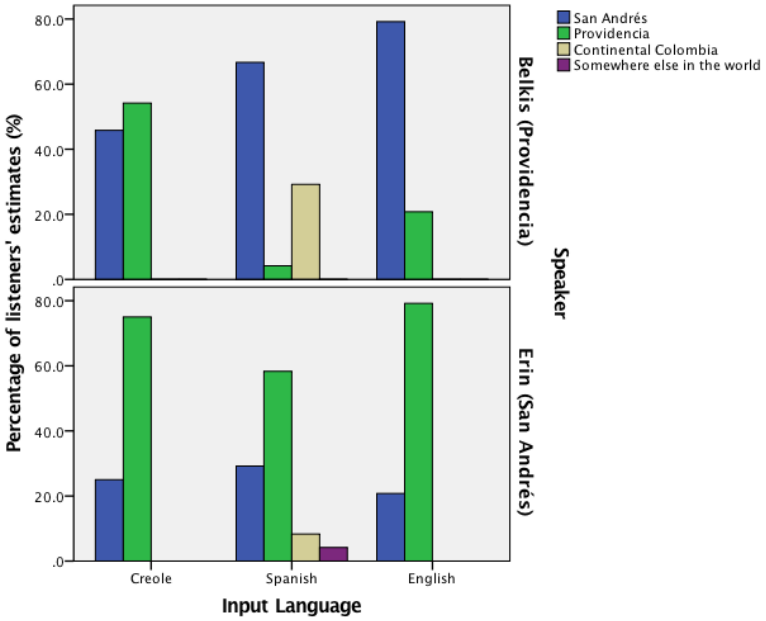
		Belkis			Erin		
		Creole	Spanish	English	Creole	Spanish	English
Estimate of language spoken	Creole	**23** [96%]	**0** [0%]	**11** [46%]	**20** [83%]	**0** [0%]	**12** [50%]
	Spanish	**0** [0%]	**24** [100%]	**0** [0%]	**0** [0%]	**24** [100%]	**0** [0%]
	English	**1** [4%]	**0** [0%]	**13** [54%]	**4** [17%]	**0** [0%]	**12** [50%]
	Total	**24** [100%]	**24** [100%]	**24** [100%]	**24** [100%]	**24** [100%]	**24** [100%]

This confounded perception of language may partially explain why Creole and English narratives have similar associations to the terms on the left of the scale in both islands. Namely, the perceived language may be a response to ethnicity rather than a purely linguistic trait and therefore English narratives may have been perceived as Creole varieties at times. Therefore, these trends may tie to competing ideologies such as *The Creole is not from here* (see section 6.1.1.4) and *When we speak Spanish or ina English, we sound fake* (see section 6.1.1.5).

Furthermore, the absence of sharp boundaries between languages is particularly truth for Creole language settings as Islander Creole is an English based Creole. Indeed, all listeners estimated that Belkis and Erin's narratives both in Creole and in English were probably told by someone from the islands, as shown in Figure 30. On the contrary, an important 30% of listeners from San Andrés (on the top of the figure) and 13% from Providencia (on the bottom of the

figure) estimated that the Belkis and Erin's Spanish narratives respectively were probably told by someone from Continental Colombia or from somewhere else in the world. When Belkis (a Raizal from Providencia) was speaking Spanish, some listeners from San Andrés explained to me that she was probably a Hispanic descendent living in the island, namely a *paña*.

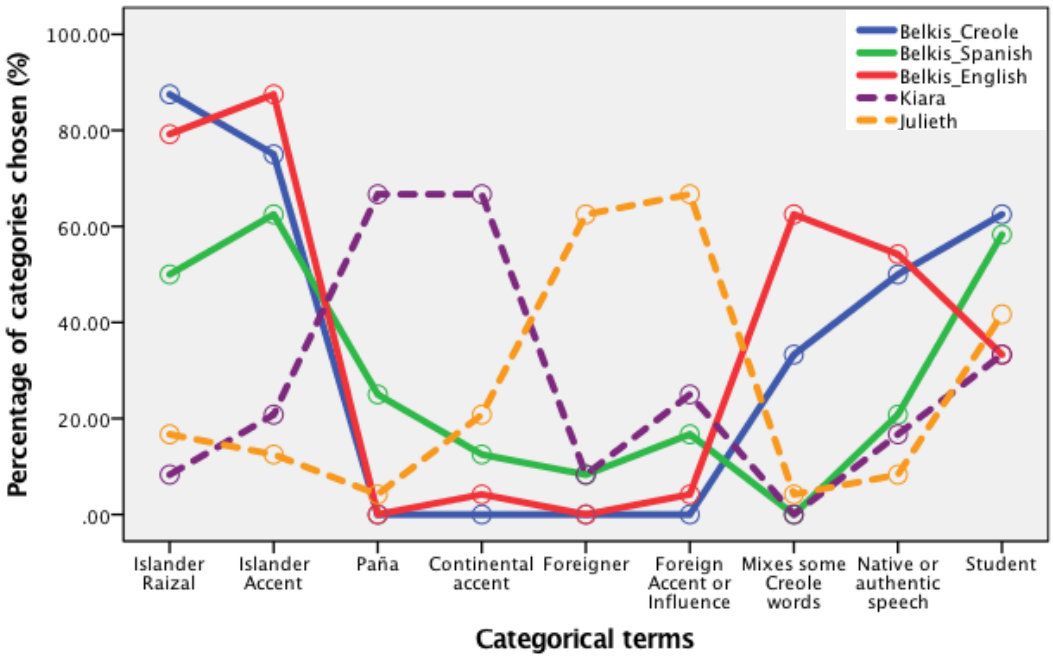
Figure 30. Estimates of narrator's origin by language spoken by experimental speakers



❖ Categorical terms

The tendency of perceiving Spanish speakers as outsiders in San Andrés is also substantiated by the analysis of categorical terms, which the listeners could tick or not tick depending on their free associations to the speakers. Of all categorical terms, I only analyzed those that were chosen by at least 50% of the listeners in each island. Figure 31 shows that in San Andrés, the categories *Islander Raizal* and *Islander Accent* were chosen by about 80% of the listeners when listening to Belkis speaking Creole (blue line) or English (red line), but these percentages decrease to 50% for *Islander Raizal* and 60% for *Islander Accent* when she was speaking Spanish (green line). These percentages are consistent with the categorical term *Native or authentic speech*, which was associated with Belkis by nearly 60% of the listeners when she was speaking Creole or English, but only by about 20% when she was speaking Spanish.

Figure 31. Percentage of most commonly chosen categorical terms in San Andrés



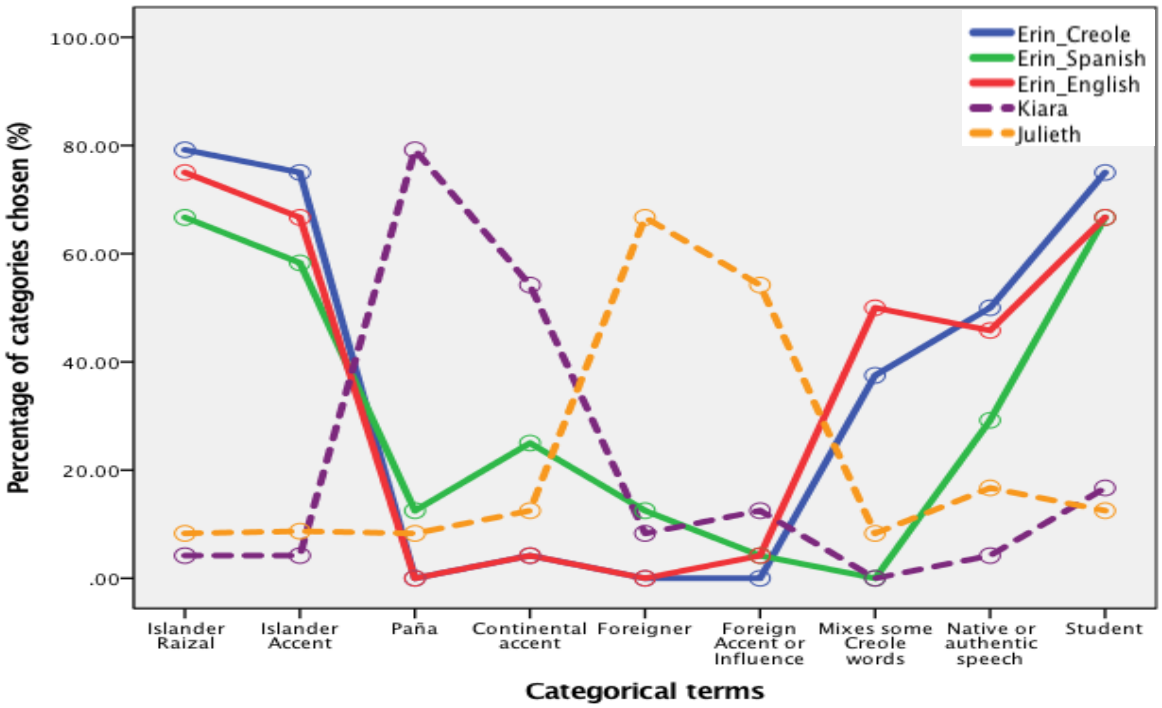
This result suggests that speaking Spanish in San Andrés may decrease the perceived Raizal ethnicity of the speaker and be interpreted as inauthentic. At least for a portion of the listeners from San Andrés, Raizals speaking Spanish were perceived as outsiders. This connects to the language ideology *Ihm coming, de paña gyal!* 'She is coming, the paña girl!' and is reflective of the experiences reported by some Creole-shifting participants (see section 6.1.4), who were subject to scorn because they used to speak Spanish or did not speak Creole fluently.

The result also suggests an active position of Creole speakers, who may be displaying some ethnic boundaries in the language, possibly as a reaction against the perceived threat from the socially dominant language. Indeed, when speaking Spanish, Belkis was related to categorical terms such as *Paña* (about 25%), Continental accent, Foreigner, and Foreign accent or influence (about 20%), even though the percentages were not high. As these categories were more frequently (above 60%) related to actual outsiders (Kiara (purple dashed line) and Julieth (orange dashed line)), it suggests that speaking Spanish likely favored the perception of Belkis as an outsider.

The results from Providencia were similar, even though speaking Spanish did not have the same effect for Erin's perceived ethnicity. As displayed in Figure 32, while Erin's Spanish

narrative (green line) was related to categorical terms, such as Paña, Continental Accent, Foreigner, and Foreign Accent or influence, which were more frequent for actual outsiders (Kiara and Julieth), her perceived Raizal ethnicity did not decrease to the same extent as Belkis'. Erin's Spanish narrative was also perceived as less authentic speech (about 30%) than her English and Creole narratives (about 50%). The categories Islander Raizal and Islander accent were most frequently related to her when speaking Creole (blue line), but the differences with the other languages appeared to be small. As Erin was heard by the participants from Providencia, this suggests less negative attitudes toward Spanish in this island, as compared to San Andrés.

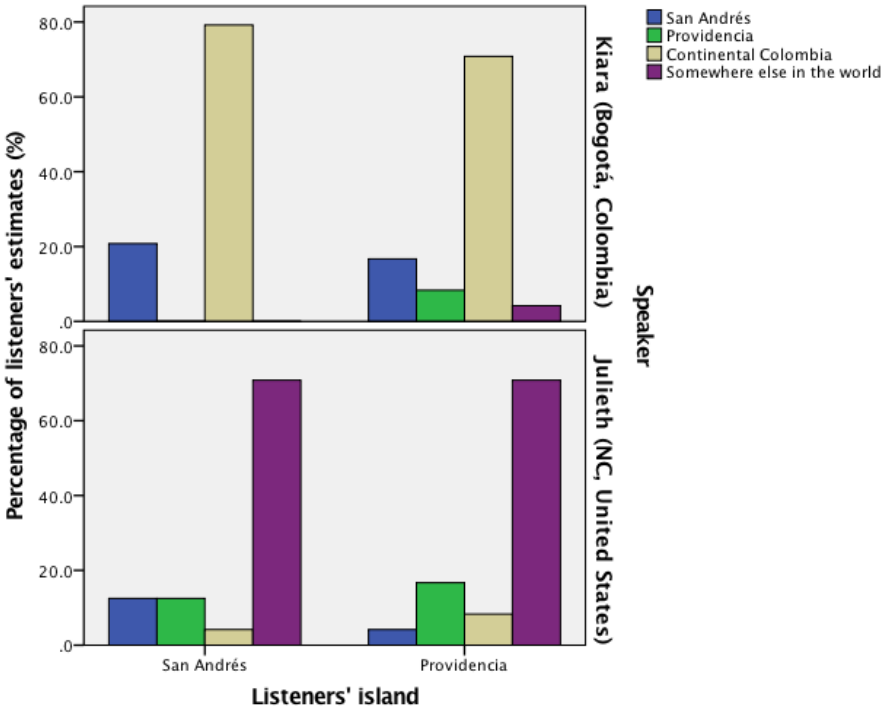
Figure 32. Percentage of most commonly chosen categorical terms in Providencia



These results contrast with control speakers (Kiara and Julieth). In both islands, Kiara and Julieth's narratives were categorically identified as being told in Spanish (100%) and English (98%), respectively. As shown in Figure 33, most of the listeners from both islands estimated that these speakers' narratives were told by outsiders: someone most likely from Continental Colombia (Kiara, on the top) or from somewhere else in the world (Julieth, on the bottom). A few participants estimated that these stories were probably told by an outsider (e.g. a

Hispanic descendent) who was born or was living in the islands. In San Andrés, these patterns are consistent with the stereotypical association of Spanish speakers to gradual terms on the right of the scale. Therefore, Kiara's stereotypical associations to some categories such as bad mood, unsure, not educated, not analytic, among others, might be an indication of a negative attitude toward Spanish and Spanish speakers, especially those who are perceived as outsiders (Kiara).

Figure 33. Estimates of narrator's origin by listeners' island for control speakers



6.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have analyzed language ideologies and the perception of languages, as additional insights on the subjective EV and the social forces behind it. On language ideologies, I analyzed four ideology-types using the participants' voices throughout: (1) the narratives of language, (2) interethnic discordance, (3) EV modes, and (4) language shift motivations. First, the narratives of language showed intricate ideologies of ethnicity and authenticity on the native language coexisting with pervasive ideologies of Creole as a stigmatized variety. Second, there

were high levels of perceived interethnic discordance with Continental Colombians among the participants from San Andrés, which is seemingly a reaction to the perceived risk that Spanish and Spanish speakers represent. There was no overt interethnic discordance in Providencia. Third, there were different modalities of EV in these islands: a hot EV mode in San Andrés, which means a general state of alertness given the perceived risk that Spanish represents, and a cool EV mode in Providencia, which means the absence of an overt concern for the local language and culture, given the general confidence in the current state of affairs. Finally, language shift motivations among the Creole-shifting participants indicated a series of communicative, economical, and social identity-related factors that were likely motivational for some Creole speakers to shift.

On the perceptions of languages, I analyzed the stereotypical perceptions of speech and speakers and the perception of speech as a function of the input language. First, the analysis indicated a series of perceptions of narrators' speech that is highly prototypical for both the speaker and his/her speech and dependent on whether the speaker is perceived as an insider or as an outsider. Narrators perceived as insiders triggered a series of positive free associations if speaking Creole, but less positive if speaking another language and, especially negative, if speaking Spanish. Among narrators perceived as outsiders, Spanish speakers received the most negative associations as compared to English speakers and perceived insiders. Second, a quantitative analysis indicated that, in San Andrés, the speech was perceived differently, as a function of the input language. For both control and experimental narrators, Spanish stimulus received the lowest scores as compared to Creole and English. This differential perception suggests a negative attitude toward Spanish and Spanish speakers and is allegedly grounded on the ideologies of language, interethnic discordance, and EV modes previously presented. The lack of significant differences in Providencia is likely the result of more favorable demographic and sociohistorical conditions in this island, a low interethnic discordance, and the cool EV mode, in which this group appears to operate.

7.0 CHAPTER 7: SEEKING THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The previous chapter explored some language ideologies underlying the subjective EV. The present chapter analyzes some linguistic data as possible evidence of EV and provides an answer to the fourth research question: What linguistic evidence may cue more or less EV (+/- EV) in production data from Creole speakers? In order to answer this question, I used a series of speech tasks that the participants were prompted to complete: (1) a picture-naming task, (2) a Spanish-Creole translation task, and (3) two elicited short narratives (a cartoon narrative and an Anansy story). The picture-naming task and the Spanish-Creole translation task aimed to get a glance on the Creole-shifting participants' knowledge of the Creole language, both at the lexicon and at the phrase levels. These tasks were complemented with a perception task specifically targeting reception skills of these participants. The elicited short narratives aimed to analyze the actual use of the Creole language in a natural-like situation by both Creole-shifting and fluent Creole-speaking participants. Furthermore, a series of linguistic features were analyzed in these stories as possible indexes of ethnic distinctiveness and language ideologies. The analysis provides compelling evidence of some possible linguistic correlates of low and high EV and illuminates possible avenues for further research.

7.1 LANGUAGE LOSS AND LANGUAGE ATTRITION

As discussed in Chapter 2 (see section 2.1.3), language attrition can be understood as a linguistic correlate of an ongoing language shift or death process (Muysken, 2012, p. 277). According to Freed (1982, p. 1), it "may refer to the loss of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community." The process, however, is far from simplistic for several

reasons, but mainly because the understanding of language attrition has changed over the course of more than 30 years.

Firstly, the lack of distinction between the individual and the speech community levels is no longer in place and the distinction between them is not an easy step (Yagmur, 2004, p. 135). Thus, one is the process of a language being lost by a given community, as their members are shifting to another language, and another is the process of progressive simplification, reduction, or disappearance of linguistic structures, which happens to individuals. This is why different and not always congruent traditions have been developed around these phenomena: (1) a more psycholinguistically oriented tradition focused on language attrition as an individual process (Köpke & Schmid, 2004) and (2) a more sociolinguistically oriented tradition focused on language shift or the loss of a language as an ethnic belonging (Romaine, 2012, p. 325).

There is an interface between the individual and the social levels (Yagmur, 2004), but they cannot be equaled. The former has derived its evidence mainly –but not exclusively- from immigrants hosted in another language-speaking community; the latter has derived its evidence mostly from minority languages being lost in their own locales. Yagmur's (1999) study on the processes of EV, language shift, and language attrition of Turkish immigrants hosted in Australia and his later revision (Yagmur, 2004) are good examples of how these different traditions can be bridged. I intentionally labeled this section *language loss and language attrition* as a compromise between both traditions, perhaps with more elements from the former (language loss) than from the latter (language attrition). This is not to say that in this section I will deliver a two-folded analysis both in language loss and in language attrition, but to acknowledge the limitations of my methodological tools, which are mostly focused on EV as a social process rather than on individual levels. Still, it is important for me to substantiate the alleged social processes with data from the individuals, which I am going to do in this section.

Secondly, language attrition requires a reference point on time in which attriters start to cease or reduce their use of a language, such as the immigration to another language-speaking country. Hence, the attrition process is assessed by contrasting, for example, those who have just emigrated with those who emigrated ten or twenty years ago (Schmid, 2004, p. 244). Given the variety of backgrounds of the participants from the Creole-shifting group, I cannot attempt to propose language attrition on firm grounds. All participants are living in the islands and are exposed to, at least, some uses of the Creole language. Some of them have studied and/or worked

out of the islands by variable periods of time (from 1 to up to 13 years, nearly half of their life for some participants), but there are other participants who have never been out of the islands (see section 3.2.1.3 for more details on this participant group). Some participants declared having learned Creole at home and later refused to speak it, but other participants stated having learned no to little Creole at home, and there are other participants who apparently reduced their use of Creole due to mixed social networks and the dominance of Spanish in their social networks (see sections 5.2 and 6.1.4 for more details on these processes).

For those who learnt Creole at home and later diminished it, language attrition might be an explanation but not for those who reported learning little or none. Specifically, a language being attrited needs to have been learned in the first place. Therefore, in this section I only attempt to describe some differences of knowledge of the Creole language between the Creole-shifting participants and the fluent Creole-speaking participants. For some participants, the differences of knowledge may be just differences of exposure to the Creole language. For others, these differences may map differences of use, as Creole-shifting participants declared to speak this language less frequently than fluent Creole-speaking participants. For others, the differences may correspond to differences on the dominant language (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 22): Creole-dominant, Spanish-dominant or more or less balanced dominance of both. Lastly, for other participants, these differences may be differences of proficiency. However, as I have not implemented a Creole proficiency test, I cannot raise such a claim of proficiency and, therefore, I will only point to some differences on language knowledge as a broader category.

Thirdly, the inclusion of a reference group is crucial for studies of language loss and language attrition (Schmid, 2004, p. 242, 248). In this specific case, the fluent Creole-speaking group was taken as a baseline condition to compare the knowledge of the Creole-shifting participants from both San Andrés and Providencia. This is why all speech tasks were presented to all participants. The inclusion of a comparison group is important to avoid sharp claims that, for example, Creole kinship terms have disappeared or been replaced by their corresponding English or Spanish terms among the Creole-shifting participants, when it might be the ongoing trend of the whole community. The comparison is also important in terms of the participants' social networks, background, and attitudes (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 13). Namely, the participants from any group might have under or over-reported their performance and use of the Creole language (Yagmur, 2009, p. 231) and these reports may be mediated by their ideologies

(see section 6.1.1) and attitudes to the ethnic groups in contact (see section 6.1.2), different EV modalities (see section 6.1.3), and different motivations for language shift (see section 6.1.4).

Fourthly, the inclusion of different types of linguistic knowledge is important to achieve what Schmid (2004, p. 240) called a 'balanced view.' Thus, instead of relying only on lexical features to claim a language being lost or attrited, one should include a varied sort of features, such as morphological and syntactic. One should not be tempted to propose a massive attrition of a language only on the grounds of the lexicon if other grammatical components are seemingly intact (Schmid, 2004, p. 249). Ultimately, I avoided quick generalizations from one to another dimension of linguistic knowledge as suggested by Yagmur (2004, p. 140). Furthermore, as Winford (2003, pp. 29-60) shows, lexical borrowing can also feed the maintenance of a language by expanding expressiveness and filling lexical gaps. For these reasons, I included a variety of speech tasks for the analysis of linguistic knowledge of the Creole-shifting participants.

Finally, the limitations of the methods must be acknowledged (Yagmur, 2004, pp. 141-142). First, the perception task I proposed is not a standardized tool to assess Creole reception skills, but a simplified version of the perception experiment to check on the Creole-shifting participants' understanding of Creole input. Second, although picture-naming tasks have been broadly used in the field (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 21), they are not free of error. Pictures are not unambiguous and they can lead to unexpected results depending on the participants' free associations. Third, translation tasks are problematic, as they require specific skills and the simultaneous activation of two different language systems possibly leading to some interference and other phenomena not necessarily related to language loss or language attrition (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 27). Finally, elicited stories may have better approximated the actual use of the language, but they might have led to avoidance strategies (Schmid, 2004, p. 251), as the Creole-shifting participants may have avoided complex structures that other participants use.

In brief, there is no perfect method to investigate language loss and language attrition. On the contrary, the implementation of these different tools and the careful analysis of the information provided may produce a balanced view of Creole language knowledge, which is of course subject to careful interpretation. Using these different tools, I will briefly present the results on language knowledge from the Creole-shifting participants in three sections: (1) Creole reception skills, (2) lexical knowledge, and (3) the use of morphosyntactic features of Creole. In the last two sections, I will contrast the Creole-shifting and the fluent-Creole participants

throughout. Following Schmid (2004, p. 241) and Yagmur, (2004, pp. 140, 143), I will not generalize too broadly beyond the participant pool.

7.1.1 Creole reception skills

For the Creole-shifting participants, I implemented a modified version of the perception task completed by the fluent Creole-speaking participants. As described in the methods chapter (see section 3.2.2), instead of listening to multiple narratives from different narrators, the Creole-shifting participants listened to only one Creole narrative either from Belkis (for listeners from San Andrés) or from Erin (for listeners from Providencia). Then, I prompted the listener to explain the content of the recording in detail. This task was implemented with the purpose of checking on the participants' reception skills in Creole, assuming that these skills might be reduced, as they declared infrequent use of Creole and, sometimes, low proficiency.

Table 50 summarizes the results of the modified perception task among Creole-shifting participants sorted by age within each island. Besides each participant's pseudonym, the table includes demographic information, such as sex, family type: Unmixed (both parents are Raizal) and Mixed (one of the parents is not Raizal), and Neighborhood dominant type: either Hispanic dominant or Raizal dominant. The next two columns list the participants' self-report of Creole use and Creole proficiency. The last four columns include the specific results from the modified perception task. 'Relevant context provided' refers to whether or not the participant explicitly states that the recording contains a story. A 'clear understanding of the recording' refers to whether or not the participants' statements indicate that he/she clearly understood the recording beyond general information from the cartoon alone. The next column indicates whether or not the participant provides specific details from the recording, while maintaining the original sense conveyed by the narrator. The provision of these details is an indication of a clear understanding as the details can be retrieved only from the recording. Finally, 'over interpretation' refers to the insertion of information or details that are not part of the recording, probably due to little misunderstandings or the participant's own interpretation of the story or the cartoon.

Table 50. Modified perception task results among Creole-shifting participants

San Andrés										
Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Family type	Neighborhood dominant-type	Creole use reported	Creole proficiency reported	Relevant context provided	Clear understanding of recording	Specific details provided	Over interpretation of recording
Melissa	F	19	Mixed	Hispanic	Infrequent	Low	No	No	No	No
Kristine	F	19	Mixed	Hispanic	Infrequent	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tanya	F	24	Mixed	Hispanic	Occasional	Advanced	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Jeraldine	F	26	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Valery	F	27	Mixed	Hispanic	Occasional	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rosaline	F	34	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Albert	M	34	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bernie	M	38	Unmixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	No	No	No	No
Nelly	F	38	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Clark	M	40	Mixed	Hispanic	Occasional	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Samantha	F	48	Unmixed	Hispanic	Occasional	Advanced	No	Yes	Yes	No
Ophelia	F	51	Mixed	Hispanic	Infrequent	Low	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Providencia										
Emily	F	25	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Harold	M	26	Mixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Low	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Darleen	F	27	Mixed	Raizal	Occasional	Intermediate	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fanny	F	28	Unmixed	Raizal	Infrequent	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Surprisingly, most of the participants' responses indicated a clear understanding of the recording. They were able to account for specific details that are retrievable only from the recording. These details include specific descriptions of the characters and characters' actions, the original perspective of the narrator, and a close replication of sentences or expressions from the original recording. As a result, there was a close match between the original story and the participants' responses, which at times took the form of retelling the story. Table 51 contrasts Belkis' original story (the left panel) and the story retold by Ophelia (the right panel) upon listening to Belkis' story. Ophelia is a 51 years old Creole-shifting participant who reported low proficiency and infrequent use of Creole and declares to be proficient in English. English translations are provided in the bottom of the table for both Belkis's original story and Ophelia's retelling of that story.

Table 51. Cartoon story told by Belkis and retold by Ophelia

Belkis' original story (Creole)	Belkis' story retold by Ophelia (Spanish)
Imagine seh a die in a park, a he rabbit now see some pretty flowers. Bot ihm waan rush now de she one, so ihm get excited, dat happy becas ihm seh deh, "my flowaz gwain mek dis she rabbit get more near me." Well ihm pick and pick and pick and cut and cut and cut. One time ihm dong, practically dong left all ihm de, fi left, some ah de ugly flowaz dem dat was thiere. Ihm meet the she rabbit and smile and ihm laugh and smile. Ahn afterward, she just smile and look pan the man telling tanks. Bot one time she turn round and look, see seh the rest of flowaz dem ina de park dat deh cry and telling seh, well ihm left the ugliest one, de mama gaan, de breda, sista, she get sad. An she… him think dat seh was someting good him deh do an was… In a fi him wye was something good, yes, because him did waan gi she a good present. Bot, ina life, we just hafi learn seh, anything wat we do, good or bad, it have result. Bot, if we gwain tek something fa somebody, you no hafi tek all, you no hafi abuse, you just hafi learn fi equally tings dem, so you no hafi gat no problem ahn you no gwain gat nothing bad. So, if you would him deh gwain tek off any flowaz, you never hafi tek op all de flowaz, just tek up two or one ahn dat would be, becas, de tink all dem is the intention is what valids, not de amount sino de intention.	Bueno, la chica estaba hablando sobre un conejo que cogió varias flores para hacer un presente a la chica con que él andaba. Pero él estaba como emocionado recogiendo, recogiendo, recogiendo, recogiendo. Cuando terminó se lo entregó a ella, pero él pensó que era algo bueno que había hecho por ella. Pero después cuando voltió se dio cuenta que, que había tristeza, había angustia en las demás flores feas que habían quedado, porque él había recogido, recogido y cortado las flores más hermosas y había dejado las flores feas. Así es que e… e… la chica también continúa diciendo que, la vida… **a Dios no le gusta estas cosas**, que si hagamos cosas buenas o cosas malas, tenemos que saber hacerlas porque hay cosas, hay cosas que, que haciéndolas mal, o buenas, se vuelven feas. Y que e… uno en la vida no debe abusar de las cosas, que si él quería recoger flores tenía que haber recogido una o dos y que no es la cantidad lo que vale sino la calidad.
Once upon a time, in a park, a he rabbit saw some pretty flowers. But, he wanted to flirt the she rabbit, so he got excited, very happy because he said, "my flowers are going to make this she rabbit get closer to me." Well, he picked and picked and picked and cut and cut and cut. Once he was done, he practically left nothing there, remaining some of the ugly flowers that were there. He met the she rabbit and smiled and he laughed and smiled. Ahn then, she just smiled and looked at the man telling thanks. But once she turned around and looked, she saw that the rest of flowers in the park were crying and telling that, well, he left the ugliest ones; the mom flower is gone, the brother flower, the sister flower [are gone], so she get sad. An she… he thought that what he did was someting good and this was… In a way, for him, it was something good, yes, because he wanted to give her a good present. But, in life, we just have to learn that anything we do, good or bad, it has results. But, if we are going to take something for somebody, you don't have to take all, you don't have to abuse, you just have to learn for equally things, so you don't have to get any problem and you are not going to get anything bad. So, if you were he who is going to take any flowers, you don't have to take all the flowers, just take two or one and that would be, because, the thing that counts is the intention, not the amount, but the intention.	Well, the girl was talking about a male rabbit who took several flowers to give a present to the girl [rabbit] with whom he was hanging up. But, he was excited picking, picking, picking. When he was done, he gave it to her, but he thought that it was something good what he did for her. But, later on, when he/she realized that there was sadness, there was distress among the rest of ugly flowers that remained, because he had picked, picked and cut the prettiest ones and he had left the ugly flowers. And, so, the girl continues saying that, life… **God does not like these things**, that if we do good or bad things, we have to know how to make them, because there are things, there are things that, whether or not you make them well or wrong, they become awful. And that, in life, one should not abuse from things [take them for granted], that if he wanted to pick flowers, he must have picked one or two and that it is not the amount what counts but the quality.

In this example, Ophelia replicated statements that closely match Belkis' original statements (the underlined passages), such as the male rabbit being excited, the action of picking the prettiest flowers and leaving the ugliest ones, or the interpretation of sadness in flowers. Ophelia also replicated Belkis' lesson with nearly the same sense and using closely equivalent words, such as "quantity (the amount of flowers) is not important." Ophelia also replicated Belkis's reduplicative expression *him pick and pick and pick* as *él estaba […] recogiendo, recogiendo, recogiendo, recogiendo* 'he was picking, picking, picking, picking.'

In some cases, the participants inserted information not originally conveyed by the narrators. For instance, Ophelia said that the narrator states, "**God does not like these things**," even though Belkis never mentioned God. Rather than a lack of understanding, the participants might have introduced their own interpretation, evaluation, or experience in the story. Ophelia, for example, is an active churchgoer, a minister in her church, and she states having been a pastor for a while. Her experience with God, her faith, and church might have drifted into her retelling of Belkis' story. Some over interpreting statements suggest some minor misunderstandings for some participants, such as Kristine, who stated that the male rabbit wanted to make the female rabbit laugh, or Rosaline, who says that Belkis recommends picking the withered flowers. Overall, these passages did not change the global meaning of the story and did not suggest a lack of receptive skills for those who clearly understood the recording.

Moreover, a few participants spontaneously rated their understanding of the recording, such as Tanya in example (67a) and Harold in example (67b). These statements may be informative of their receptive skills, given that Tanya suggested a complete understanding but Harold only a partial understanding. Overall, it appears that those who clearly understood the story may belong to a broad scale of proficiency achievement (Romaine, 2012, p. 325), such as passive bilinguals who understand Creole but do not speak it (see section 6.1.4.3) and Spanish dominant bilinguals who use both Spanish and Creole but are more used to speak Spanish.

(67) a. Tanya: Esa era la historia de Anansy y toda la entendí desde el comienzo hasta el final
(That was the Anansy story and I understood the whole story from the beginning till the end)

b. Harold: El conejo cortó las flores del jardín que se las había entregado a una persona que era especial y otro poco de cosas que no entendí ahí.
(The rabbit cut the flowers from the garden as he had given them to a special person. And there was another bunch of things that I did not understand there).

On the other hand, there were two participants from San Andrés, Melissa and Bernie, who clearly did not understand the recording. They got some fragmentary information and were able to retrieve some words but not a whole and coherent discourse unit or a meaningful part of the story. Melissa, for example, states that Belkis is talking about a brother, a sister and flowers, which are ugly. Bernie states that there was somebody in a park and that there was somebody crying. This suggests that these two participants might be closer to a Spanish monolingual model and their passive knowledge of the Creole language appeared to be more scarce than the rest of participants.

Overall, this section has suggested that there may be a broad range of proficiency levels among those who declared speaking Creole infrequently or occasionally and be low proficient in this language. There is no obvious reason to explain the case of those who appear to be truly low proficient. As previously shown in Table 50, Melissa comes from a mixed family, she has a continental Colombian mother and a Raizal father and she lives in a Hispanic dominant neighborhood in San Andrés, but Bernie comes from an unmixed family with both parents being Raizal and he lives in a Raizal dominant neighborhood. Bernie had been out of the island for one year while studying in continental Colombia, but Melissa has never been out of the island. Thus, none of these factors appear to completely account for the participants' language knowledge, but their individual experiences.

Similarly, for those who appear to be passive bilinguals and showed a clear understanding of the recording, the social patterns are not sufficiently explanatory. As shown in table 50, most of the participants from both islands come from mixed families but not all. Some of them have a Raizal father and a continental mother, but some show the opposite pattern. Some participants live in Hispanic dominant neighborhoods but others live in traditional Raizal neighborhoods. Indeed, the individual motivations for language shift presented in section 6.1.4.2 are more instructive than broader social patterns. Their declaration of low proficiency and infrequent use of Creole might be a declaration of emotional disengagement from the language (Jeraldine), the fear of being scorned (Valery), the decision to keep the language private (Emily), the instrumentalization of languages for social ends (Fanny), or just the perception of low communicative demands for Creole in Hispanic dominant networks (Samantha, Tanya). For example, Ophelia's leading role in the church as a former pastor and current minister may conflict with her use of Creole, as English is assumed to be the language of church.

The results of the modified perception test would need further development and more sophisticated tools to test on the participants' proficiency and inquire in language attrition. Furthermore, it is important to contrast the reception skills just examined with the participants' production in different levels, which is addressed in the following sections.

7.1.2 Lexical knowledge

As described in the methods (chapter 3), I implemented a picture-naming task in order to investigate participants' knowledge of some Creole words. Sixty-six laminated cards containing different pictures were randomly displayed one by one to each participant. The participants were instructed to say twice the Creole name of the image displayed. A short training session with 5 cards helped make sure the participant understood the task before starting the experiment, as the training cards were representative of the card types (single objects to trigger one word and groups of objects to trigger several words), card content for expected words (objects to trigger nouns, events or actions to trigger verbs, and face expressions to trigger adjectives), and other card details (such as the eventual presence of arrows pointing to specific parts of the pictures). There was a total of 80 expected words, 52 of them were assessed in an experimental condition and 28 were included as fillers (see Appendix J).

Although the participants were instructed to provide just lexical items, some of them said the word within a syntactic frame, such as *dat dah one bieby deh biet* 'that is a baby bathing'. In these cases, I let the participants do as they wanted, even though I was interested just in the verb *biet* 'bathe'. For each picture, I counted raw frequencies of the participants' responses, which were a word of interest naming what appears in the picture (extracted from its syntactic frame, if any) or a non-response (e.g. I don't know, I don't remember). Responses and raw frequencies for each experimental word were organized and submitted to a series of logistic regression models in R-brul (Johnson, 2009). For each case, the participant group was set as an independent factor with two levels (Creole-shifting group and Fluent Creole-speaking group). Each word of interest was set as the dependent variable and the exemplar word with the highest token-frequency was set as the application value, which was assessed against all other responses (e.g. lizaad vs lizard + *(i)guana* + ishily + no response). In some cases, the statistical test was not conducted if the proportion of responses in the application value was equal or superior to 90% in the fluent-

Creole speaking group, or equal or inferior to 10% in the Creole-shifting group. These cases, known as knock-outs, do not meet the assumptions for the statistical tests, as the very high or low proportions in the cells of comparison suggest little variation. Given that there were more than 50 groups of words assessed, Table 52 samples only part of the R-brul output (see the crosstabs for all experimental words in Appendix K).

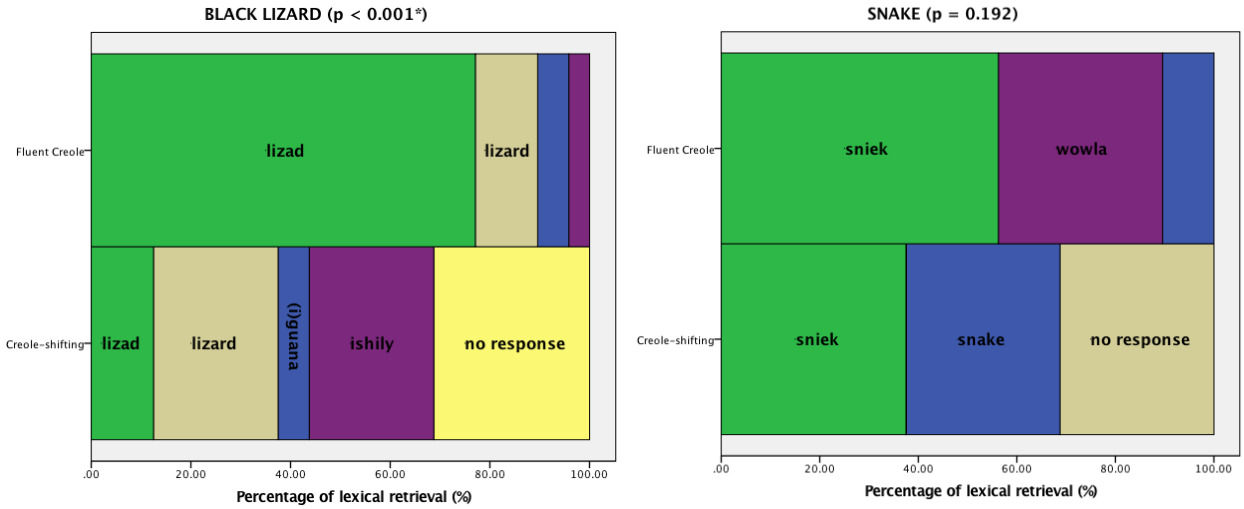
Table 52. Sample of R-brul output

		Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole	p-value			Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole	p-value
RIVER	FW	--	--	K.O	GHOST	FW	0.226	0.734	0.003*
riva	N	2	46		**guost**	N	2	25	
	%	12.50	95.83			%	12.50	52.08	
waata	N	3	1		ghost	N	4	11	
	%	18.75	2.08			%	25.00	22.92	
river	N	5	1		no response	N	6	4	
	%	31.25	2.08			%	37.50	8.33	
water	N	2	0		duppy	N	1	4	
	%	12.50	0			%	6.25	8.33	
no response	N	4	0		fantasma	N	1	3	
	%	25.00	0			%	6.25	6.25	
BLACK LIZARD	FW	0.171	0.829	<0.001*	babu	N	2	1	
lizad	N	2	37			%	12.50	2.08	
	%	12.50	77.08		SNAKE	FW	0.406	0.594	0.192
lizard	N	4	6		**sniek**	N	6	27	
	%	25.00	12.50			%	37.50	56.25	
(i)guana	N	1	3		wowla	N	0	16	
	%	6.25	6.25			%	0	33.33	
ishily	N	4	2		snake	N	5	5	
	%	25.00	4.17			%	31.25	10.42	
no response	N	5	0		no response	N	5	0	
	%	31.25	0			%	31.25	0	

Table 52 includes knock-outs, words with significant differences, and words with no significant differences. In each case, the application value is flagged in bold face. Factor weights for each level of the independent variable, tokens, and percentages per cell are listed. The p-values are provided and significant values are flagged with an asterisk (*), which means that the differences between fluent-Creole speaking participants and Creole-shifting participants were statistically significant in the word of interest.

Figure 34 contrasts two word inventories with significant differences between the groups in the left panel and with no significant differences in the right panel. In the left panel, most of the participants from the fluent Creole speaking group (77.08%, 37 participants) retrieved *lizad* or *lizads* when seeing the picture of a lizard, while other words were much less frequently retrieved: *lizard* or *lizards* (12.5%, 6 participants), the Spanish *iguana* or its shortened form *guana* (6.25%, 3 participants), and *ishily* or *ishilidas* (4.17%, 2 participants). On the contrary, these choices were more evenly distributed among the Creole-shifting participants, with *lizard(s)* and *ishily* or *ishilidas* having an equal proportion (25%, 4 participants each), *lizad(s)* with 12.5% (2 participants), and *iguana* (6.25%, 1 participant), plus a 31.25% of no responses from five participants who could not find a word for the image displayed. These differences indicate a strong lexical choice among the fluent Creole-speaking participants but a varied sort of less strong lexical choices plus a range of uncertainty among the Creole-shifting participants.

Figure 34. Word inventories for *black lizard* (left) and *snake* (right)

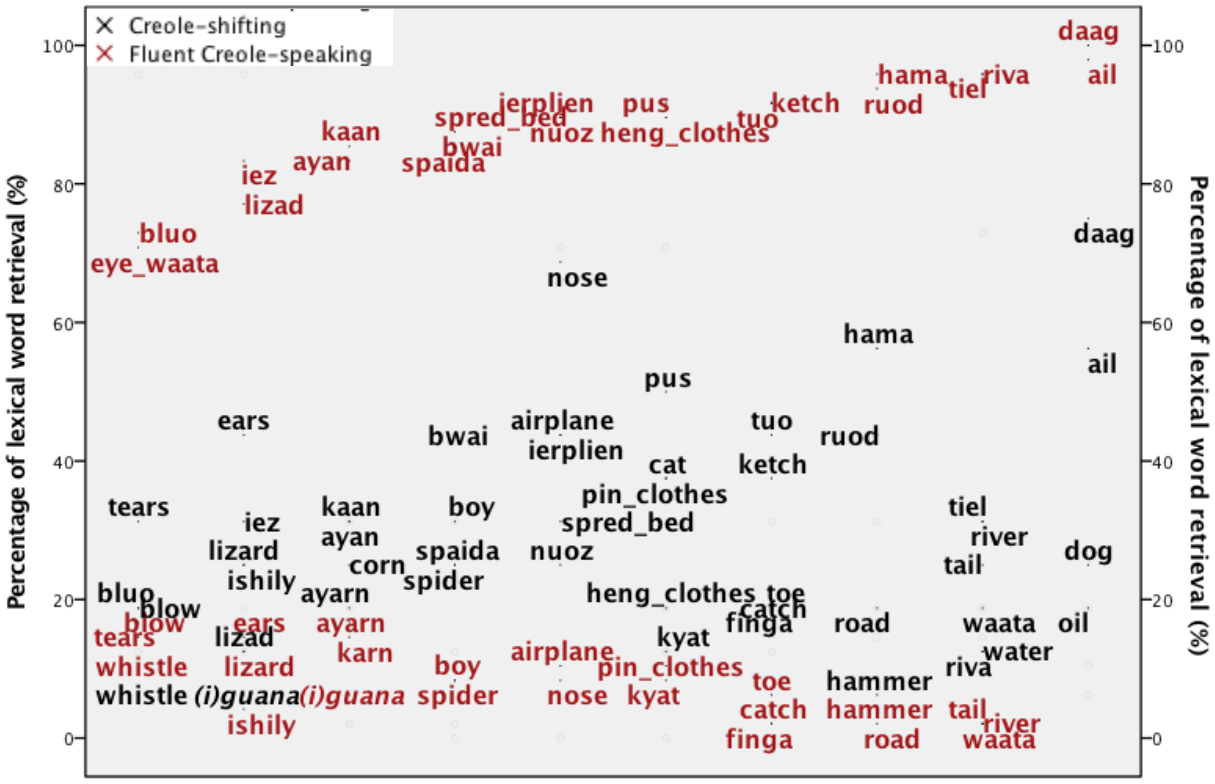


The right panel shows an inventory of words for *snake,* with no significant differences between the groups. Although a majority of participants from the fluent Creole speaking group retrieved *sniek* (56.08%, 27 participants), the preference for this choice was not as categorical as in the previous inventory, while the Creole-shifting group showed a lower but comparable preference for the same word (37.5%, 6 participants). Moreover, there was a comparable number of other lexical choices retrieved with similar percentages in both groups, for example *wowla* with 33.33% (16 participants) in the fluent Creole-speaking group and *snake* with 31.25% (5 participants) in the Creole-shifting group. In the latter group, there was also an important percentage of 31.25% of no responses from participants who could not retrieve a word.

Altogether, the differences observed suggest a different kind of knowledge of Creole words from both groups. Regarding the inventories with significant differences, the fluent Creole speaking group often displayed a categorical preference for a given lexical choice, while there was an important range of uncertainty among the Creole-shifting participants and their varied set of lexical choices were weaker than the preferred choice among the fluent speakers. If we think of these differences in terms of second language learning, then we can see similiarities to the discussion of vertical variation in second language learning for differences of proficiency (Adamson & Regan 1991; Kanwit, 2017) –as opposed to horizontal or social variation among native or proficient speakers. This is extendable to lexical variation in settings of language attrition or of partial knowledge of the local language. Namely, a lexical choice is strongly preferred by native speakers who have mastered the Creole language and claim frequent uses of it. There is more dispersion of lexical choices and these options showed less strength among Creole-shifting participants, who claimed less proficiency and less frequent uses of Creole.

Figure 35 summarizes these patterns for both groups. The figure shows the words of interests with knock-outs and those with very significant differences ($p < 0.001$) between the groups. Lexical choices retrieved by the fluent Creole-speaking participants are displayed in red, while those of the Creole-shifting participants are displayed in black. The percentage of lexical word retrieval (that is the proportion of a given word being retrieved within each group) is displayed on the Y-axis. The words are arranged on the X-axis from right to left, with those of the highest frequencies on the right and those of lower frequencies on the left. The figure does not display no responses and miscellaneous responses that collapse several responses with very low absolute frequencies, which were coded as Other_responses in Appendix K.

Figure 35. Word cloud for knock outs and words with very significant differences



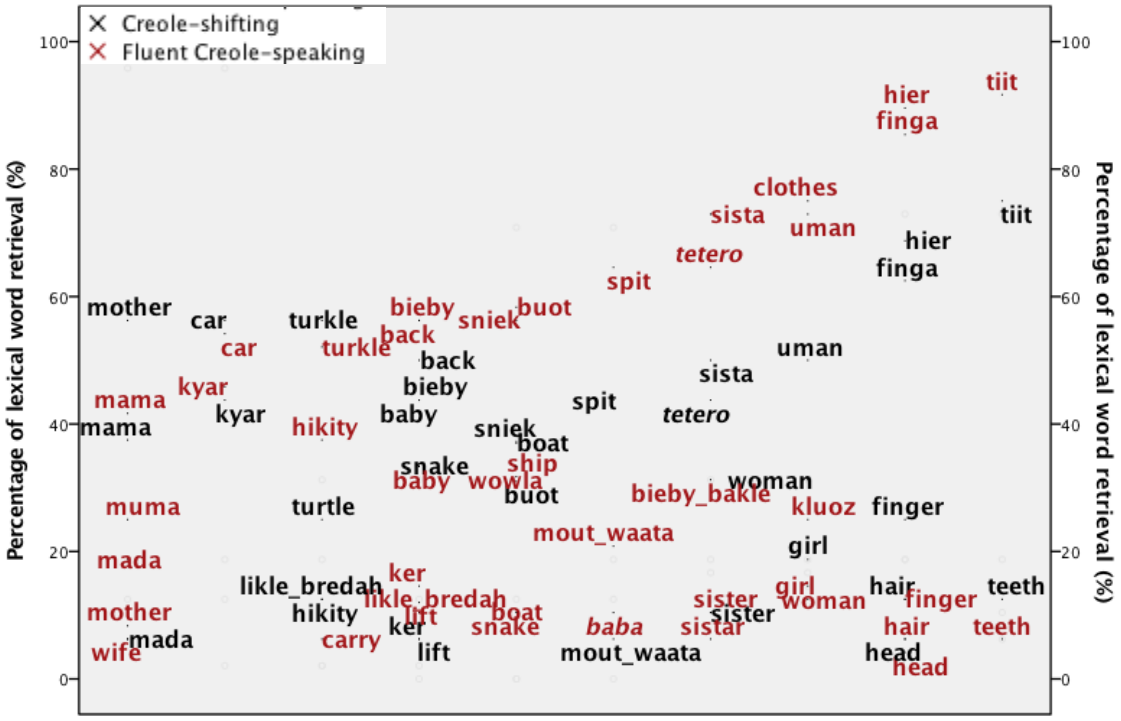
This figure shows a clear contrast between the two groups. The fluent Creole speaking group displayed a categorical preference for a given lexical choice across the different words of interest on the upper frequencies of the figure, while other choices were much less frequently retrieved as seen on the lower frequencies of the figure. The Creole-shifting group, on the other hand, showed varied lexical choices standing in the middle frequencies of the figure, which suggests that none of the choices has much strength. As a result, competing lexical choices tend to cluster together in the Creole-shifting group while they are separated in the fluent Creole speaking group. For example, on the most left panel, *blow* and *bluo* cluster together among the Creole-shifting participants (indeed, they had the same frequency), whereas these options stand far apart among the fluent Creole speakers.

Interestingly, the less categorical a lexical choice was among fluent Creole-speaking participants, the more closely the lexical choices cluster together among the Creole-shifting participants. This can be seen from left to right for equivalent words such as *lizard, lizad, ishily,* and *(i)guana*, *corn* and *kaan*, *ayan* and *ayarn* 'iron', *spider* and *spaida*, *boy* and *bwai*, and

airplane and *ierplane,* among others. When a lexical choice displayed a much stronger categorical preference among the fluent Creole-speaking participants, the lexical choices also become slightly more separated among the Creole-shifting participants. This pattern can be seen from the middle to the right of the figure, for example *toe* and *tuo*, *road* and *ruod*, *hammer* and *hama*, *oil* and *ail*, *dog* and *daag*, even though there are also some words that still cluster together in the right panel, such as *tail* and *tiel*.

Regarding the word inventories with no significant differences between the groups, the patterns were more diverse, as shown in Figure 36. First of all, the lexical words retrieved by the fluent-Creole speaking group were less categorical overall. Secondly, the cases of relatively high frequencies among this group were mirrored with slightly lower but comparable frequencies among the Creole-shifting participants, such as *tiit* with 91.67 % among the fluent Creole-speaking group (44/48 participants) and 75% among the Creole-shifting group (12/16 participants) vs *teeth* with 6.25% in the former group (3 participants) and 12.5% in the latter (2 participants). Third, the proportion of lexical choices retrieved by the fluent Creole-speaking group tended to decrease from right to left of the figure, while those from the Creole-shifting group tended to increase. As a result, competing lexical choices clustered together within each

Figure 36. Word cloud for non-significantly different words



group and across both groups, for example *kyar* and *car,* which all have similar frequencies for both groups, yielding no significant differences. Lastly, there was a broader range of lexical choices retrieved with similar proportions within each group.

In all, these results indicate that for the majority of experimental words (37/52) assessed, the fluent Creole-speaking participants displayed a categorical preference for a given lexical choice, while the lexical choices were dispersed and weaker among the Creole-shifting participants. The lexical choices preferred by the former were usually distinctive from English, either as different lexical entries (e.g. *eye waata* 'tears') or as phonologically different (e.g. *tuo* vs *toe*), while these various lexical entries tended to have similar proportions in the latter. This suggests a different type of knowledge of the Creole words across the groups. Namely, it seems that English words or words that were English-like may pass as Creole words for both groups, but they were not preferred by the fluent Creole-speaking group. This pattern of vertical variation in the dispersion of lexical choices and the presense of some no responses suggest, at least, a partial lack of lexical knowledge among the Creole-shifting participants.

There was also an important number of experimental words (15/52) in which no significant differences between the groups were observed. However, the possible reasons for the lack of differences and the contrast words with significant differences are not clear. Spanish loanwords appear to have had a similar behavior in both groups, such as *(i)guana* 'lizard' with 6.25% for both groups, *abuela* or *buela* 'grandmother' (22.92% of the fluent group and 18.75% of the shifting group), and *tetero* or *tete* 'baby bottle' with similar proportions for both groups (64.58% for the fluent group and 43.75% for the shifting group). There were also some cases in which the fluent Creole speakers retrieved the Spanish loanword more frequently, whereas the Creole-shifting participants tended to give no response or provide an English word. For example, 41.67% from the fluent Creole-speaking group retrieved *pa* or *papá*, while 68.75% of the Creole-shifting participants retrieved *father.* Also, 45.83% fluent Creole participants retrieved *burru* or *burro* 'donkey', while 43.75% of the Creole-shifting participants provided no response. The fact that the islands are a multilingual setting may partially explain the lack of differences, especially in Spanish loanwords that are widely used across the three languages regardless of the participants' proficiency level.

Similarly, hypernyms and hyponyms did not show a clear pattern. For example, both the fluent Creole-speaking (56.25%) and the Creole-shifting (37.5%) participants retrieved more

frequently the hypernym *sniek* as a class name for *snakes,* whereas only a smaller portion (33.33%) of the former group retrieved *wowla*, the Creole name for a specific snake (boa) (see figure 34). However, *ishily* or *ishilidas*, which is the Creole name for a typical lizard from the islands was more frequently (25%) retrieved by the Creole-shifting group than the fluent Creole-speaking group (4.17%). In both cases, I was expecting *woola* and *ishily* and I intentionally chose the pictures to trigger those words, but surprisingly *ishily* was more frequently chosen by those who allegedly have less knowledge of the Creole language than those who are fluent.

There might be a number of other possible reasons behind the significant differences and the lack of significant differences for the word inventories explored. The differences may relate to different lexical frequencies, to the semantic content of the words, to the form of the words (either phonologically or morphologically), among many possible factors. However, the investigation of these factors was beyond the scope of this dissertation and I did not control for them. Further research on the Creole lexicon is needed in order to test for some possible factors of variation in a more controlled fashion. Lastly, there might be some task design effects, as the pictures did not have to be equally interpreted by all. Thus, the differences portrayed here are only differences of lexical retrieval on the basis of pictures, excluding all other (and natural) possible circumstances in which words can be retrieved. Nevertheless, I have suggested some possible differences of Creole lexical knowledge, which appear to align with the EV levels: those with lower EV appear to display less categorical lexical knowledge, while those with higher EV appear to display greater and stronger lexical knowledge of Creole.

7.1.3 Use of morphosyntactic features

As described in the methods (chapter 3), all participants were prompted to translate orally ten short sentences from Spanish into Creole (see Appendix E). The participants were encouraged to do their best, but they were given the option to skip some sentences if they find them hard to translate. All fluent Creole-speaking participants translated all sentences, but some Creole-shifting participants skipped some sentences, translated only parts of them, or used some Spanish words, presumably to fill some vocabulary gaps. Table 53 summarizes the sentences translated by the Creole-shifting participants, indicating when the translation was not completed, incomplete, partially completed in Spanish, or filled with some Spanish words.

Table 53. Spanish sentences translated by the Creole-shifting participants

Sentence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nelly	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Fanny	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C
Samantha	C	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C	C	C
Emily	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C
Kristine	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)	C	C	C (Sw)
Darleen	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C	C
Ophelia	C	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)
Tanya	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)
Rosaline	C	C	C	C	C (S)	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C
Albert	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)	C	C	C (S)
Harold	C	C	C	C	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C	C (Sw)	C	C (S)
Valery	C	C	C	C (S)	C (Sw)	C (Sw)	C	C (S)	C	C (S)
Jeraldine	C	C	C	C	I	C	C	C	C	C
Clark	C	C	C	N	C	C	C	N	C	N
Bernie	C	C	C	C	C (S)	C (S)	C (S)	N	I	N
Melissa	C	C	C	C (S)	I	I	I	N	N	N

C: Completed, N: Not completed, I: Incomplete, C(S): Partially completed in Spanish, C(Sw): Some Spanish words

The table shows that sentences 8 and 10 (e.g. #10 *El hermano tigre le prometió al hermano araña que todas las historias llevarían su nombre* 'Brother Tiger promised brother Anansi that all the stories would belong to him') were the most frequently skipped (N), partially completed in Spanish (C(S)) using whole Spanish phrases or clauses, or filled with a variety of single Spanish words (C(Sw)). Indeed, these sentences were long and complex, as they include a series of clauses in embedded or coordinated relationships and require the use of more extensive vocabulary (see Appendix E for all sentences). Sentences 1, 2, and 3 were completed by all participants, without using Spanish. These were the shortest and simplest sentences with the fewest requirements for vocabulary. Bernie and Melissa skipped sentences (N), left them incomplete (I), or switched into Spanish more frequently than the rest. Recall that, in the perception task, these two participants also displayed less perception skills than their pairs, as they showed no meaningful understanding of an oral Creole story. Nelly, on the other hand, completed all sentences, never switched into Spanish or used Spanish words to complete them.

Nelly lives in a Raizal dominant neighborhood in San Andrés and she comes from a mixed family with a Raizal father and a Central American mother. She declared to speak Spanish most frequently and said that people find her Creole weird, and so she prefers not to speak it. Table 54 compares the overall data of Spanish words used by both groups.

Table 54. Use of Spanish words in translated sentences

	Creole-shifting group	Fluent Creole-speaking group
Participants who used some Spanish words	13/16, 81.25%	32/48, 68.75%
Number of Spanish words used	Total: 94/149, 63.08% Range 1-30 words 1 word: 2 participants, 15.4% 2-3 words: 1 participant, 7.7% ≥ 4 words: 10 participants, 76.9%	Total: 55/149, 36.9% Range 1-5 words 1 word: 18 participants, 56.3% 2-3 words: 11 participants, 34.4% ≥ 4 words: 3 participants, 9.3%
Spanish lexical words most frequently used	mamá 'mom': 5/94 fiest 'party': 3/94 zanahoria 'carrot': 9/94 araña 'spider': 4/94 crucero 'cruise ship': 6/94 promet 'promise': 4/94 cazar 'hunt': 4/94 other words: historias 'stories', islas 'islands', serpiente 'snake', todas 'all', llevar 'to carry', hacer 'to make', among others.	mamá: 21/55 fiesta: 13/55 zanahoria: 12/55 araña: 6/55 prometer: 2/55 crucero: 1/55
Spanish grammatical words most frequently used	las 'the': 7 en 'in': 4 le 'him/her': 4 un 'a/an/one': 3 de 'of/from': 3 other words: que 'that', a(l) 'to (the)', el 'the', mi 'my', su 'his/her/your', y 'and', pero 'but'	---
Words concatenated in strings?	Yes, in phrases and clauses	No. Only single words were used.

In all, there was a total of 149 Spanish words in the corpus. Of them, 55 (36.9%) were used by the fluent Creole-speaking participants, while 94 (63.08%) were used by Creole-shifting participants. Given that this is a smaller group, it indicates a larger proportion of Spanish words used by the Creole-shifting participants. Indeed, most of the fluent Creole-speaking participants used an average of 1 to 3 Spanish words, while most of the Creole-shifting participants used 4 or more Spanish words. There were some participants from the latter group who switched into Spanish to complete the sentences using whole Spanish phrases or clauses and this increased the number of Spanish words for this group.

Among the fluent Creole-speaking participants, the Spanish words used belong to a small inventory of six lexical words. As other kinship terms, *mamá* 'mother' appears to be an established borrowing in the language when the last syllable is stressed, as I found no significant differences between it and other available terms that had similar proportions, such as *muma, mada, madar,* and *mother*. *Fiest(a)* 'party' is likely a direct borrow from the Spanish sentence provided in the task, as the preferred Creole term *selibrieshan* 'celebration' was retrieved by other participants either as a paraphrasis 'make a celebration' or using the verb *selibriet* 'celebrate'. *Zanahorias* 'carrot(s)' is seemly an importation, given that carrots are not part of the traditional islander cuisine.[15] Some participants, however, used either the English word *carrot* or an adaption of it *kyarrots*. Very importantly, these were lexical words used as single words inserted in a Creole frame. Most of these items were nouns and the participants also made some adaptation to them, such as *fiest* instead of the original Spanish *fiesta* 'party' and *promet* instead of a Spanish conjugation such as *prometió* 'he promised'. Given that both a labeling function and some adjustment in the recipient language are characteristic of lexical borrowing (Winford, 2012, pp. 173-174), this suggests that the small inventory of words registered in the fluent group are lexical borrowings.

On the other hand, the inventory of Spanish words used among the Creole-shifting participants is more extensive and varied. I found a total of 25 lexical words used among these participants and all of them, except for *zanahoría*, are very scattered with low proportions of no more than 6 tokens. Furthermore, there were a variety of grammatical words used in this group, such as *pero* 'but', *y* 'and', *el/las* 'the', *un* 'a/an/one', *en* 'in', *de* 'of', which are prepositions,

[15] A native consultant instructed me about some traditional vegetables of the islander cuisine, such as *calalu* and *occro,* which however have declined in use.

articles, conjunctions, and other functional items used by some participants to complete the translations using whole Spanish phrases or clauses of variable extension.

Examples 68a and 68b contrast a typical translation from a fluent Creole-speaking participant and a translation of the same sentence by a Creole-shifting participant. In example (68a), Becky, a young participant from San Andrés, provided a quick and straightforward Creole translation without any Spanish word. On the other hand, Valery (example 68b), a young participant from the same island, started her utterance in Creole using the article *di* 'the', but, probably without being aware of the Creole name for a typical fruit, switched into Spanish and kept in this language almost until completing her translation. Although *un product tip..* keeps the most common Spanish order of DPs (Det+N+Adj), it imitates the native pronunciation and this may have eased switching back into Creole. In this case, the translation is framed in Creole at the beginning and end of the sentence, but most of its content and syntax are provided in Spanish.

Input sentence #4: *La fruta de pan es un producto típico de las islas*
'Breadfruit is a typical product from the islands'
(68) a. Becky: Di breadfruit dah one typikal fruit from de island.
b. Valery: Di **fruta de pan es un product tip..** typic in de island.

Overall, this tendency to borrow from Spanish suggests a different approach to the task from fluent Creole-speaking and Creole-shifting participants. Fluent Creole-speaking participants never switched into Spanish to complete any of the sentences, but they used some Spanish words, whereas Creole-shifting participants did both. Here, lexical borrowing is understood as the incorporation of lexical items from a source language (Spanish) into a recipient language (Creole) (Winford, 2012, pp. 172-173). Code-switching was understood as the use of a linguistic variety in another language utterances (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 3). In a comprehensive approach to code-switching and lexical borrowing, Winford (2012, pp. 183-185) indicates that the distinction between them is not simple and states that both phenomena require the agency of the speakers. In lexical borrowing, the speaker agency usually involves some phonological and/or morphological adaptation to the recipient language, so that the lexical items imported become more alike to the recipient language (more Creole-like, in this case) (Winford, 2012, pp. 172-173). In code-switching, the speaker's agency is seen as a strategic response to the

communicative demands of an interaction, such as the topic at hand, the interlocutor, and more complex nuances of bilingual identities (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pp. 45-48) (see section 6.1.1.1).

Given that Creole-shifting participants declared less proficiency and less frequent uses of Creole than Spanish, their use of Spanish in the Creole sentences appears to be less deliberate and, therefore, it is better understood as transfer or imposition, rather than code-switching and borrowing. According to Winford (2012, pp. 170-172), the concepts of transfer, interference, and imposition are most commonly related to language-shift and language acquisition situations and connect to the notion of linguistic dominance. In this case, the source language (Spanish) is the dominant language for these speakers and, therefore, they were more likely to transfer Spanish items into the recipient language (Creole) and sometimes deliver whole parts of the sentences in Spanish, as the complexity of the structures increases. This was particularly true for those on the lower half of table 53 who did not complete some sentences or partially completed them in Spanish (Rosaline, Emily, etc.) and for sentences 6 through 10.

Impresionistically, I also perceived a different intonation and some acoustic differences between the groups. For example, a tendency to use the Spanish trilled [r] (e.g. in *tiger*), the voiceless fricative [x] instead of the voiced affricate [dʒ] (e.g. in *Jamaica*), and a tendency to delete [h] when fluent Creole speakers would use it (e.g. [istori] vs [hɪstəri]) or select *story* instead. Further investigation of prosodic and phonological differences using reliable acoustic measures is needed to shed more light on this. Despite these differences, it is also important to recall some possible effects of the translation task. Translation tasks have been described as problematic given the demands they bring for the speakers (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 27). Therefore, it might be that there was a combined effect of the task and actual differences in proficiency. It is also possible that mature grammars, such as those of the fluent Creole speakers were more robust to the effects of the task, whereas 'less robust' grammars, such as those of the Creole-shifting participants, were less stable and more sensitive to some effects of the task (e.g. some interference from the source language of translation (Spanish), which is also their dominant language).

Besides these qualitative differences between both groups, there were other differences in the arrangement of the grammatical structures. Rather than analyzing independent features for each sentence, I analyzed three linguistic features that have been described as characteristic of Caribbean Creoles (Schneider, 2012, pp. 490-491) and were seen across two or more sentences:

(1) Copula choice, (2) Futurity expression, and (3) Past tense. In these features, I recoded the variables into two levels when that reduction made sense, for example the copular verb most frequently chosen versus all other copular choices. These recoded variables were submitted as dependent variables to a series of logistic regression models in R-brul, while the participants' group was set as an independent factor along with other linguistic variables seen as constraints or environments of the dependent variables analyzed. The results from each model will be presented independently for each of the three linguistic features analyzed.

7.1.3.1 *Copula choice*. Table 55 displays the statistical results for the use of copular verbs in the translation of three different sentences, which were all singular and present. The upper part of the table lists basic statistical information, such as the formula used, the input probability, the total number of tokens (191), and the deviance. Among all copula choices, *is* was the most frequent, so this variant was set as the application value against all other copula choices. The lower part of the table shows the main results. The first column list two independent factors included: the grammatical environment that follows the copula chosen with three levels ((1) a determiner phrase (DP), (2) an Adjective, and (3) a Locative proper noun) and the participants group. The next three columns include the number of tokens per variable level, proportion of *is* and factor weights (FW). Significant values were flagged with an asterisk (*).

Table 55. Logistic analysis for copula choice

	[is / (is + other copula choices)]		
Input	.559		
Total N	191		
Deviance	230.48		
	N	% is	FW
Following environment	*p < .001**		
DP	61	73.8	0.75
Adj	67	49.3	0.49
Loc	63	27.0	0.26
Group	*p = .014**		
Creole-shifting	47	63.8	0.61
Fluent Creole	144	45.1	0.39

The grammatical environment was a significant factor ($p < .001$) given that *is* was most frequently chosen before a DP, but less used before a locative proper noun, while registering middle frequencies before an adjective. There was also a significant difference between the groups ($p = .014$), as most of the Creole-shifting participants selected *is* in all grammatical environments, while Creole-shifting participants also used other copular verbs for different environments. Given that copula choices other than *is* were collapsed for the purposes of the statistical test, the distribution of all copula choices is displayed in table 56. Proportions of copula choice are displayed across the grammatical environments in the table rows.

Table 56. Copula choice distribution

Environment	**is**	**dah**	**∅**	**deh**	**Other***	**Total**
___ DP	45 (73.8%)	14 (23%)	1 (1.64%)	0	1 (1.64%)	61
___ ADJ	33 (49.3%)	0	33 (49.3%)	1 (1.5%)	0	67
___ LOC	17 (27%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	39 (61.9%)	5 (7.9%)	63
Total	95 (49.7%)	15 (7.9%)	30 (15.7%)	40 (20.9%)	11 (5.8%)	191 (100%)
*Other included strings such as *ih* and *dis*.						

Most of the variation in copula choice is explained by the fluent Creole-speakers' choices and is consistent with the description of the same copula choices in other Caribbean English Creoles (Holm, 1984; McWhorter, 1997; Migge, 1995). In equative predicates that introduce a DP to describe the sentence subject, *is* was preferred by the participants from both groups. There was, however, an important proportion of copula *dah* (23%) in these predicates, which was used by some fluent Creole-speaking participants. Examples 69 a and b contrast the translation of sentence 4 by a Creole-shifting participant, who chose *is*, and a fluent Creole-speaking from San Andrés, who chose *dah* before a DP.

Equative copula *is / dah* [___ DP]

Input: *La fruta de pan es un producto típico de las islas* 'Breadfruit is a typical product from the islands.'

(69) a. Nelly: De breadfruit **is** a typikal fruit of de island

b. Becky: Di breadfruit **dah** one typikal fruit from de island

In both translations, the indefinite DP entails a definition of the subject *breadfruit.* Nelly (69a) links the subject and the DP using the form *is*, a form of the verb *to be* used for all copula contexts in English. Becky (69b), however, links them with the copula *dah,* which appears to specialize the meaning of the sentence. Specifically, the speaker is assigning the subject to the class of typical fruits from the islands (as one of these fruits). In grammatical descriptions of islander Creole, copula *dah* is, indeed, classified as the equative copula of the language (Bartens, 2003, p. 77; O'Flynn, 1990, p. 65). McWhorter (1997, pp. 87-90) also describes the specialization of the meaning of this copula for identificational sentences in Saramacaan.

Although *dah* was only used by fluent Creole-speaking participants before a DP, *is* was also the most common choice (33/47) by this group in this environment, and *dah* barely reached a third of these uses (14/47). This may indicate a possible decay of this specialized form and relate to a possible collapse of different copula forms in the most English-like *to be,* as pointed out by Holm (1984, p. 295). It might also be that some fluent Creole speakers perceived some formality in the task and, therefore, used forms perceived as more prestigious. However, a further analysis indicated that all tokens of *dah* were produced by the participants from San Andrés, which suggest the use of more conservative Creole variants in this island, as compared to those from Providencia, who only used *is* before DP. In the examples, it should be noticed that Becky (example 69b) also uses other Creole items, such as *one* instead of *a,* selected by Nelly (example 69a) as the DP head.

Regarding copula choices with predicative adjectives, *is* was also the most common choice (33/67, 49.3%), but there was also the competing zero-copula (∅) with a large proportion (28/67, 41.8%). There was a bigger but not too large difference between the groups, given that fluent Creole-speaking participants chose ∅ in nearly half of their tokens (23/49, 46.9%), while there were 5/18 tokens (27.78%) of ∅ among the Creole-shifting participants. Examples 70 a and b contrast the use of copula *is* by a Creole-shifting participant and the use of ∅ by a fluent Creole-speaking participant respectively.

Copula in adjectival predicates *is* / ∅| ___ ADJ]

Input: *El rondón es delicioso* 'Rondon is delicious.'

(70) a. Clark:	Di rondon	**is**	sweet
b. Darcey:	Rondon	∅	sweet

In adjectival predicates, there is an adjective (*sweet*) describing the subject (*rondón*, which is a traditional dish of islander cuisine). Clark linked them using the copula *is*, while Darcey linked them directly with no overt copula between them. The absence of an overt copula in 70b follows similar tendencies in other Caribbean Creoles with higher proportions of copula deletion, such as Belizean Creole with 90% of deletion in this environment (Migge, 1995, p. 67), Jamaican with 66%, and Gullah with 62% (Holm, 1984, p. 293). This specialized use of the zero-copula is explained by Holm (1984, p. 296) as the general treatment of adjectives as a type of verbs in Creoles. Therefore, the juxtaposition of the subject and the adjective (and possibly some prosodic cues that need to be studied) are enough to convey the predicational relationship between them, with no overt copula. Among fluent Creole speakers from the islands, I observed an almost even distribution between ∅ and *is*, which again may have a combined effect from the task, and, therefore, would need further examination.

Finally, the most striking differences, both between the groups and between the grammatical environments, can be seen in the locative copula. In this environment, *deh* was the most common choice with 39/63 tokens (61.9%) against 17/63 tokens (27%) of *is*. There was a large difference between the groups given that *deh* was most frequently used among fluent Creole speakers (34/48, 70.8%) than among Creole-shifting participants (5/15, 33.3%). Examples 71 a and b contrast the use of copula *is* by a Creole-shifting participant and the use of *deh* by a fluent Creole-speaking participant in the locative context.

Locative copula *deh / is* + *P* [___ LOC]

Input: *Ella está en Jamaica* 'She is in Jamaica.'

(71) a. Kristine: She **is in** Jamaica

b. Vincent: She **deh** Jamaica

In locative environments, there is a location in the space, in this case conveyed with the proper noun *Jamaica,* which is assigned as a location of the subject (*she*). Kristine (71a) linked the subject and its location using the copula *is*. Given the general meaning of *to be* for identificational, class, and descriptive predicates, the participant also used the preposition *in*, which establishes the spatial relationship. Vincent (71b), on the other hand, linked the locative proper noun and the subject using the copula *deh*, which specializes the locative meaning (Bartens, 2003, p. 77). As in the other grammatical environments, this specialized use is also

registered in other Caribbean Creoles, such as Belizean (Migge, 1995, p. 78), in which *deh* registered 62% of locative copulas, which matches the 61.9% reported here.

These results lead to the conclusion that fluent Creole speakers used two overt Creole copulas *dah* 'to be' and *deh* 'to be in/at' and a zero-copula (∅) for different functions. Creole-shifting participants rarely used these forms and appeared to have a more reduced inventory of copula choices. This suggests some partial knowledge of Creole among these participants, who appear to be short of all Creole nuances that fluent Creole speakers master. Importantly, *deh* and ∅, the specialized copula choices with higher proportions among fluent speakers, reached 5 uses each among Creole-shifting participants. However, they used the copula *dah* only once in a context other than __DP and this was also the most infrequent copula among fluent Creole speakers. This suggests that shifting participants may be following the patterns of fluent speakers but on a smaller scale. Ultimately, the major proportions of *is* in both groups suggest that *to be* may take the functional spaces of Creole copular verbs (Holm, 1984, p. 295). Since these data are a relatively small set and obtained from translations, this issue would need to be examined further using additional data and data collection methods.

7.1.3.2 *Futurity expression choice*. Table 57 displays the statistical results for the use of futurity expressions in the translation of two Spanish sentences. The first one was provided in periphrastic future (***Voy a estudiar*** *en Bogotá pero no quiero vivir allá* 'I am going to study in Bogotá but I don't want to live there'). The second one was provided in past tense with an embedded conditional clause as a complement of the promissive verb *prometer* 'to promise' (*El hermano Tigre le prometió al hermano araña que todas las historias* ***llevarían*** *su nombre* 'brother Tiger promised brother Anansy that all the stories would take his name'). In both sentences, most of the participants provide futurity expressions as translations of the Spanish periphrastic future and the Spanish embedded conditional. There was a total of 125 tokens. Of them, the future tense marker *gwain* was the most frequent choice. This form was set as the application value and assessed against all other verbal expressions used by the participants when translating these sentences. Two independent factors were included: clause type ((1) not embedded, (2), embedded), and the participants' group.

Table 57. Logistic analysis for futurity expression

	[gwain/(gwain+other expressions)]		
Input	.638		
Total N	125		
Deviance	120.962		
	N	% gwain	FW
Clause type	*p < .001**		
Not embedded	64	89.1	0.79
Embedded	61	41.0	0.20
Group	*p = .016**		
Fluent Creole	96	69.8	0.66
Creole-shifting	29	51.7	0.34

The condition of being embedded or not in a clause that complements a promissive verb was a significant factor (*p < .001*), as *gwain* was nearly categorically selected (89.1%) in the not embedded condition (non-promissive), while in the embedded condition (promissive), it decreased by a half (41%). In the not embedded condition, *gwain* was used for the translation of the first sentence, most likely as an expression of the "immediate future or future of present intention" (Bartens, 2003, p. 83). In the embedded condition (promissive), other future markers were almost evenly used along with *gwain,* probably as expression of a volitional future or irrealis (Kanwit, 2017, p. 6; O'Flynn de Chaves, 1990, pp. 157-159). There was also a significant difference between the groups (*p = .016*), given that fluent speakers used *gwain* more frequently than Creole-shifting participants. Table 58 displays the distribution of the futurity expressions used.

Table 58. Distribution of futurity expressions

Environment	**gwain**	**going to/-ing**	**will/wi**	**would/wuda**	**most**	**waahn**	**other**☼	**Total**
Not embedded	57 (89.1%)	4 (6.25%)	0	0	0	1 (1.56%)	2 (3.13%)	64
Embedded	25 (41.0%)	1 (1.64%)	15 (24.6%)	6 (9.8%)	2 (3.3%)	3 (4.9%)	9 (14.8%)	61
Total	82 (65.6%)	5 (4%)	15 (12%)	6 (4.8%)	2 (1.6%)	4 (3.2%)	11 (8.8%)	125

☼ Other expressions included unmarked verbs or no overt tense markers (∅), Spanish future tense forms, and Creole and English past tense forms mostly used by the Creole shifting group in the embedded condition, suggesting interpretations other than futurity (past tense forms) or some possible vocabulary gaps (Spanish future tense forms).

As with the other variables studied, most of the variation is explained by the use of grammatical features with specialized functions mastered by fluent Creole speakers but less frequently used by Creole-shifting participants. In the not embedded condition (non-promissive), *gwain* was mostly chosen (81.9%) and that selection was categorical (95.8%) among fluent speakers. It was also high but comparatively lower among Creole-shifting participants (68.8%). This was because some Creole shifting participants (31.2%) also used futurity expressions different from *gwain,* such as *going to* + V or the progressive *–ing* in the main verb (e.g. *I'm studying*). Examples 72 a and b contrast the use of *gwain* and other futurity expressions in the not embedded (non-promissive) condition.

Futurity expression *gwain/ going to/ will/ wi/ would/ wuda/ waahn/ most* [___ + V(-ing)]

Input: *Voy a estudiar en Bogotá pero no quiero vivir allá.*

'I am going to study in Bogotá but I don't want to live there'

(72) a. Alice: I **gwain go** study Bogotá bot I no waahn live ova deh

b. Harold: I **am going to** study in Bogotá bot I don't want to live deh

The two translations comprise an imminent future but suggest some different knowledge of the Creole language. Alice, a young adult participant from San Andrés (72a) used the conservative Creole marker of future *gwain*. Given its categorical use among fluent speakers, it appears that this structure was unambiguously interpreted as the "future of present intention" (Bartens, 2003, p. 83). It is possible that, in this context-type, *gwain* is frequently used in daily speech and readily accessible to Creole-shifting participants, who also used it with a relatively high frequency (68.8%). There were, however, some Creole-shifting participants who did not use this expression and relied on other expressions instead. Harold (72b), for example, is a young Creole-shifting participant from Providencia, who used the English-like expression *to be* + *going to* + *V*. It might be that for him and other Creole-shifting participants who have been less exposed to the native language (see section 6.1.4.2), Creole is seen as a local version of English and, therefore, they may be unaware of all nuanced differences between these languages.

In the embedded condition (promissive), *gwain* was almost evenly distributed with other futurity expressions, such as *will* or *wi, would* or *wuda, waahn,* and *most*, mostly used by fluent speakers and barely chosen by Creole-shifting participants. Examples 73 a through e illustrate the use of different futurity expressions among fluent Creole speakers. Loraine (73a) used the

Creole future marker *gwain*, with no distinction of the embedded (promissive) and not embedded (non-promissive) conditions; indeed, this marker was used 41% of the times in the embedded (promissive) condition and 43.8% of the times among fluent speakers in that context. Geneva (73b) used *will* and this expression or the shortened *wi* were used 29% of the times among fluent speakers in the embedded condition, but only 7.7% among shifting participants. *Would* (73c), *waahn* (73d), and *most* (73e) were less frequently used with proportions of 12.5%, 6.25%, and 2.1% among fluent speakers, and only *most* (7.7%) was used by a Creole-shifting participant.

Futurity expression *gwain/ going to/ will/ wi/ would/ wuda/ waahn/ most* [___ + V(-ing)]

Input: *El hermano tigre le prometió al hermano araña que todas las historias llevarían su nombre.*

'Brother Tiger promised brother Anansy that all the stories would take his name [of Anansy]'

(73) a. Loraine:	Broda Taiga promise broda Nansy seh all de story	**gwain**	**kyer**	ihm niem
b. Geneva:	Breda Taiga promise breda Spida all de history	**will**	**ker**	his niem
c. Wilson:	Breda Taiga promise breda Nansy that all de history	**would**	**ker**	his niem
d. Becky:	Breda Taiga promise breda Anansy seh all de story	**waahn**	**ker**	fi him niem
e. Rick:	Breda Taiga promise breda Spida fi all his history	**most**	**kyer**	ihm niem

The use of a variety of futurity expressions with no categorical preference among fluent Creole speakers suggests that the differences between them blur in a marked context, such as being embedded in a promissive speech act. In fact, O'Flynn de Chaves (1990, p. 157) states that these are expressions of irrealis modality and that *will/wi* appears to be restricted to the expression of commitment or willingness to do something. Thus, in this specific context, the statements convey a variety of modality meanings (Bardovi-Harlig, 2005, p. 2) and so the frequency of *gwain* decreases. Indeed, the examples above suggest that *will/wi*, *would/wuda*, and *most* were also used to take some distance from the speech moment, to express Tiger's promise as a future projection from an indefinite point in time or, otherwise, to convey a non-real situation that cannot be verified. The genre of Anansy stories as source of the sentence and the lexical content of the verb *prometer* 'to promise' (Kanwit, 2017, pp. 7, 10) might have helped these interpretations. This is not uncommon in L2 situations. Comparatively, Kanwit and Solon (2013, p. 213) found that, for Spanish L2 speakers, periphrastic future is disfavored in subordinate clauses as compared to main clauses.

These fine-grained uses of Creole depict some of the differences between fluent speakers who master the language, and Creole-shifting participants who apparently have some more general knowledge of the language. Examples 74 a and b illustrate some of the responses from Creole-shifting participants, where no clear expression of future surfaced. Rosaline (74a) used *–ing* with no auxiliary verb and there is no conjugated verb in the embedded clause. She might have perceived some less relevance of a time frame, but her statement lacks a modality cue. As a consequence, her statement is formally close to those of present progressive (see section 7.1.3.2, cf. example 120c). Nelly (74b), on the other hand, used *was*, probably as a past tense marker. She probably wanted to convey a past reference, as Tiger's promise happened in the past. As a result, her statement looks similar to some uses of past progressive (see next section). Admittedly, this was one of the most skipped sentences, completed in Spanish or filled with some Spanish words among these participants and, therefore, there might be a translation task effect (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 27).

Futurity expression *gwain/ going to/ will/ wi/ would/ wuda/ waahn/ most* [___ + V(-ing)]

(74) a. Rosaline: Di brother Tiger tell his brother dat all de histories ∅ **kerrying** his niem

b. Nelly: Di brother Tiger promise di brother Spider that all the history **was** **ker** his name

7.1.3.3 *Tense marker choice*. Table 59 displays the statistical results for the use of tense markers in the translation of four different sentences, which were either in past tense, in the progressive, or both. There was one in present progressive (*el tigre **está cazando** una serpiente* 'the tiger is hunting a snake'), one in imperfect past (*mi hermana **estaba trabajando** en un crucero en las islas Caimán* 'my sister was working in a cruise ship on Cayman Islands') and two non-progressive in past tense. There were 248 tokens in total. Among all tense marker choices, an unmarked verb/zero overt tense marker (∅) was the most frequent, so this was set as the application value and assessed against all other tense choices. Two independent factors were included: a progressive marker with three levels ((1) no marker (∅), (2), *deh,* and (3) *–ing*) and the participants group.

Table 59. Logistic analysis for tense marker choice

	[∅/ (∅+other tense marker choices)]		
Input	.435		
Total N	248		
Deviance	220.316		
	N	% ∅	FW
Progressive marker	*p < .001**		
∅	123	88.6	0.88
deh	87	58.6	0.54
-ing	38	10.5	0.10
Group	*p = .011**		
Fluent Creole	192	71.4	0.63
Creole-shifting	56	48.2	0.37

The presence or absence of a progressive marker was a significant factor ($p < .001$) given that no tense marker (∅) and no progressive marker (∅) coincided most of the times (88.6%), but other tense markers were chosen when there was a progressive marker in the utterance. For example, the auxiliary forms of to be *is* and *was* were used mostly when the progressive marker was *–ing* (89.4% of all uses of *–ing*), while *wen* and *did* were used mostly when the progressive marker was *deh* (35.6% of all uses of *deh*). There was also a significant difference between the groups ($p = .011$), as most of the fluent Creole speakers selected (∅) as tense marker in most of the environments, except in the specific case of past progressive utterances, while Creole-shifting participants used (∅) more evenly along with other choices. As I collapsed all tense marker choices other than ∅ for the statistical test, I spell out the distribution of all tense marker choices in Table 60. As in the other variables, the proportions of tense marker choices are also displayed across the Progressive markers in the table rows.

Table 60. Tense marker choice distribution

Environment	∅	wen☼	did	was	is✧	English V†	Spanish V‡	Total
___ ∅	109 (88.6%)	0	0	1 (0.8%)	0	7 (5.7%)	6 (4.9%)	123
___ deh♀	51 (58.6%)	19 (21.8%)	12 (13.8%)	5 (5.7%)	0	0	0	87
___ -ing*	4 (10.5%)	0	0	11 (28.9%)	23 (60.5%)	0	0	38
Total	164 (66.1%)	19 (7.7%)	12 (4.8%)	17 (6.9%)	23 (9.3%)	7 (2.8%)	6 (2.4%)	248

♀ One token of *dah* was collapsed in this category given its comparable conservative use by the fluent-speaking group

* Two tokens of Spanish *–ando* were collapsed in this category for reasons explained later

☼ In order to facilitate the presentation of results, this category collapsed one token of *men*, two tokens of *win*, and one token of *ah*. *Men* and *win* appear to be variations of *wen*.

✧ One token of Spanish *está* was collapsed here for reasons explained later

† English verbs included one regular (e.g. *promised*) and six irregular tokens (e.g. *made*), all of them with ∅progressive.

‡ Spanish verbs included two irregular (e.g. *hicimos*) and four regular tokens (e.g. *prometió*), all with ∅progressive.

Similar to the copula choices and futurity expressions, a larger proportion of variation for choice of tense markers is explained by a set of markers with specialized functions among Creole speakers and this shows consistency with the description of other Caribbean English Creoles (Gooden, 2002, 2008). In non-progressive utterances conveying an anterior meaning, the unmarked verb (∅) was preferred by both participant groups with 109/123 tokens (88.6%), even though there were some uses of English (5.7%) and Spanish (4.9%) verbs conjugated in past tense and one marginal use of the English form *was* without *–ing*. Examples 75 a through c contrast the first three choices, all of them in sentences conveying an anterior meaning.

Non-progressive absolute past ∅[___ ∅/ English past V/ Spanish past V]

Input: *El año pasado hicimos una fiesta para el cumpleaños de mi mamá. Vino mucha gente, bailamos y comimos rondón.*

'Last year, we made a birthday party for my mom. A lot of people came, we danced, and we ate rondon'

(75) a. Georgianna: Last year, wi **∅mek** one berthdie fi my muma. Plenty people come, wi dance…

b. Devon: Last year, we **made** a *fiesta* for de birthdie of my mada. Plenty people come ahn…

c. Valery: *En el año pasado* ***hicimos*** one festival *en cumpleaños de* my muma *y* come too plenty…

The three translations entail a description of past events. Georgianna, an older adult from Barrack in San Andrés (75a) used an unmarked verb, which was the most common solution for anterior meanings in past sentences. This aligns with the grammatical patterns of Islander Creole

given that dynamic verbs are usually unmarked for tense in this language (Bartens, 2003: 80). Contrary to these patterns, Devon (75b) and Valery (75c) conveyed the past reference in the verb itself, using the English irregular past form *made* or the Spanish irregular form *hicimos*, respectively. Devon is an older adult speaker from Bottom House in Providencia. As other speakers of his age, he reported being educated in English and he consistently used less conservative patterns that are closer to English. Valery, on the other hand, is a young participant from the Creole-shifting group living in a Hispanic dominant neighborhood in San Andrés. She struggled to deliver the sentence in Creole and so she switches between Spanish and Creole until completing the statement. Her use of the irregular Spanish form *hicimos* was most likely due to a limited knowledge of Creole and some vocabulary gaps that she filled with Spanish.

In Belizean Creole, Gooden (2002, pp. 88-89) pointed out a similar pattern to the most common unmarked (∅) past of Islander Creole. She explains that "unmarked verbs [usually] express absolute past time references" with respect to the speech moment and that contextual information may convey the temporal reference of the utterance, for example via temporal adverbs, which would have a higher functional load when standing alone (Bardovi-Harlig, 2015, p. 56). Indeed, the temporal adverb *last year* in the sentence above helps identifying the anterior meaning of the sentence. Although adverbs may convey the anterior meaning, they are not a grammatical condition (an argument) of the verb. In example (76), also from Georgianna, there is no temporal adverb and the verb *tell* is used with no overt tense marker (∅) for a past reference.

Non-progressive absolute past ∅[___ ∅/ English past V/ Spanish past V]

Input: *El hermano Tigre le prometió al hermano Araña que todas las historias llevarían su nombre*

'Brother Tiger promised brother Anansy that all stories would take his name [of Anansy]'

(76) Georgianna: Breda Taiga **∅ tell** sista Anansy seh de whole history wahn kier ihm niem

Regarding progressive utterances with *deh*, ∅ was also most commonly chosen (51/87, 58.6%), but there were other competing choices, such as *wen* (19/87, 21.8%), *did* (12/87, 13.8%), and *was* (5/87, 5.7%). *Wen*, *did*, and *was* indicate a past reference in progressive utterances, whereas ∅ was most commonly chosen for present progressive utterances, even though a few speakers apparently used it for past progressive utterances too. Examples 77 a and

b contrast the uses of *wen* and *did* in past progressive with *deh*. Loraine (77a), an older adult from Orange Hill in San Andrés used *wen*, while Jazmine (77b), an older adult from Old Town in Providencia chose *did*. In fact, I noticed that, among fluent Creole-speaking participants, *wen* was more common in San Andrés, while *did* was more common in Providencia.

Past progressive ∅ *wen/ did* [___ (deh) + V(-ing)]

Input: *Mi hermana estaba trabajando en un crucero en las islas Caimán.*

'My sister was working in a cruise ship on Cayman Islands'

(77) a. Loraine:	My sista	**wen**	**deh work**	pah one ship, Caymand Island
b. Jazmine:	My sista	**did**	**deh work**	pan a tourist boat Cayman Island

The specialized use of *wen* and *did* for past references in this context is important because *work* is not a stative but a dynamic verb. Therefore, contrary to the Bickerton's tenet criticized by Gooden (2002, pp. 87-88) that "the relative past marker [always] expresses (absolute) past with statives and past-before past, with non-statives," the examples suggest, consistent with Gooden's analysis, that stativity is not likely the unique factor triggering a past tense marker. Namely, it is the progressive what appears to trigger the use of the past Creole marker in these examples as a way to situate the dynamic event in a time other than the speech moment. In other words, the speakers selected the relative past marker in order to convey that it was in an indefinite point in the past when their sister was working on a cruise ship; otherwise, with no past tense marker, the statement would be likely interpreted as present with respect to the speech moment (i.e. *my sister is working on a cruise ship*).

This shows that, at least in this particular case, it is the contextual information that becomes crucial to the choice of tense marker. Indeed, in a more extensive study using narratives, Gooden (2008) shows that the choice of tense marker is more complex. It involves discourse functions, such as backgrounding and foregrounding the story, the provision of new information, switching time frames, and the inherent lexical aspect of the verb, among others. Admittedly, the sentences translated in this corpus are discursively isolated and, therefore, in the next section I will also examine this feature in a discourse context.

For past progressive, *was* and unmarked verbs (∅) were also used. It appears that *–ing* and *deh* were mutually exclusive, as I could not find any example that combines them. The auxiliary *was* combined with *–ing* and was used by some fluent Creole speakers and some

Creole-shifting participants, but in a few cases *–ing* was also used by fluent Creole speakers without any auxiliary verb. Examples 78 a and b contrast these two uses of *–ing* with and without an auxiliary verb. Example 78a from Byron clearly looks more English-like. Byron is an older adult from Providencia, he has college education and is an instructor at a technical educational institution on the island. It is possible that these factors may have some influence on his use of more English-like tense and progressive markers, as he consistently used more English-like features than conservative Creole features. Example 78b from Michael shows *–ing* as progressive without any auxiliary verb that may situate the temporal axis of the utterance. Michael is a young fluent Creole speaker from San Andrés. He has some technical education and has successfully entered the job market in San Andrés. It is possible that Michael was trying to imitate the English structure, even though this example lacks the auxiliary marker.

Past progressive ***∅ wen/ did/ was*** **[___ deh/ ∅+ V(-ing)]**

(78) a. Byron:	My sista	**was**	**work*ing***	on a ship in Caymand Island
b. Michael:	My sista	**∅**	**work*ing***	on ship in Caymands Islands

Furthermore, there were some mixed uses, usually among Creole-shifting participants, as shown in examples 79 a through c. Harold (79a), a young Creole-shifting participant from Providencia, apparently uses *was* as a tense marker but he does not use a progressive marker, as fluent speakers would do (see examples 77 a and b above). As a result, Harold's utterance (79a) is situated in a past reference but lacks an overt progressive marker. On the contrary, Emily (79b), also a young Creole-shifting participant from Providencia, selected *was* and combined it with the progressive marker *deh*. This may be an intermediate solution that mixes the English auxiliary *was* but preserves the progressive marker from Creole and excludes *–ing*. The last example from Tanya (79c) shows no overt past tense marker (∅) where other speakers used one. As shown in previous sections of this dissertation, Tanya is a Creole-shifting participant living in a Hispanic dominant neighborhood, so the absence of an overt past marker in this case is likely related to some possible lack of knowledge of fine-grained grammatical features of Creole, specifically where to use and not to use a marker. These mixed uses are expected from L2 learners, language attriters, or speakers who do not have full command of a language (Köpke &

Schmid, 2004, pp. 8-12). Indeed, the lack of past tense marker in Tanya's example may convey a present progressive reading, as I will show next.

Past progressive *∅ wen/ did/ was* [___ (deh) / ∅+ V(-ing)]

(79) a. Harold:	My sista	**was**	**∅ work**	in de ship in de *Islas Caimán*
b. Emily:	My sista	**was**	**deh work**	ina boat Cayman Island
c. Tanya:	My sista	**∅**	**deh work**	ina *crucero*, ina Island Caymand

In present progressive utterances, the Creole marker *deh* competes with the most English-like *–ing*. *Deh* mostly favored no overt tense marker (∅) (58.6% within all uses of *deh*), while *–ing* mostly favored *is* (60.5% within all uses of *–ing*). Examples 80 a and b contrast the use of progressive marker *deh* with unmarked verbs (∅) and its counterpart *–ing*, usually with an auxiliary *is* for present tense. The latter was used by both fluent Creole-speaking (20.8% of all cases of the sentence above) and Creole-shifting participants (57.1% of the same sentence), while the former was used most frequently by fluent Creole speakers (75%) than Creole-shifting participants (42.9%). There were also a few cases of *–ing* without auxiliary verb among fluent Creole speakers, such as example (80c) from Ilona, my oldest participant, from Providencia.

Present progressive *deh/ ∅/ is* [___ V(-ing)]

Input: *El tigre está cazando una serpiente.* 'The tiger is hunting a snake'

(80) a. Leslie:	De taiga	∅	**deh ketch**	a snake
b. Wilson:	De taiga	**is**	**ketching**	a woola
c. Ilona:	Taiga	∅	**trying**	one serpant

Overall, in this section I have shown the differences between fluent Creole speakers and Creole-shiting participants in the use of tense markers. The most fine-grained uses of Creole tense markers in progressive and non-progressive contexts were used most frequently by fluent Creole speakers rather than those who are apparently in a language-shift process or have had a limited access to this language or less knowledge of it. In past utterances that were not progressive, the fluent speakers categorically tended to choose unmarked verb (∅); although a similar tendency was observed among Creole-shifting participants, they also choose an English

or Spanish form, most probably due to some vocabulary gaps than to unawareness of the most favored structure.

In past progressive utterances, there were the biggest differences between the groups. The fluent speakers consistently conveyed the anterior meaning via a Creole marker *wen* or *did* and combine it with the progressive marker *deh*. This combination appears to be sensitive to contextual information (Gooden, 2002, 2008) and was apparently difficult for the shifting participants, who relied on the English and Spanish forms or produced a series of combined forms.

In present progressive utterances, the use of the unmarked verb (∅) with progressive *deh* reached high frequencies in both groups, but this preference was more categorical among fluent speakers, who also used less frequently the auxiliary *is* plus *–ing*. In this particular case, it is also informative to see some specific uses among the Creole-shifting participants, who used the unmarked verb (∅) and show some possible vocabulary gaps, which they filled with Spanish lexemes, as shown in examples 81 a and b, from an older adult Creole-shifting participant from San Andrés and a young one from Providencia, respectively. The next section expands the examination of past tense markers in its discourse context.

Present progressive ∅ *is* [___ (deh)/∅+ V(-ing)]

(81) a. Samantha:	De taiga	**is**	***caz*<u>ing</u>**	one snake (*cazing* < Sp. *cazar* 'hunt')
b. Harold:	De taiga	**is**	***cazando***	an esnake (Sp. *-ando* ≃ Eng *-ing*)

7.1.3.4 *Tense markers in a discourse context*. The previous three sections compared the use of some linguistic features between Creole fluent speakers and Creole-shifting participants in a discursively limited unit: translated sentences. Although the results are informative about the differences of Creole language knowledge between the groups, they do not show the whole scenario. In daily uses of language, linguistic features are inserted in more complex discourse units, are subject to discourse parameters, and may fulfill discourse functions beyond the sentential level. This applies to all linguistic features and is particularly true for tense markers (Hopper, 1982, p. 16), as they involve a variety of discourse aspects (Gooden, 2008). On the discourse hypothesis for tense-aspect variation, Bardovi-Harlig (1995) shows that the structure of narratives shapes the use and development of tense morphology. An exhaustive account of these

features would deserve an analysis of its own and is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, in this section, I will only present a small sample of analysis of past tense markers in a Creole narrative from a fluent Creole speaker. The underlying hypothesis is that the differences between the groups in the use of tense markers are not only quantitative, but also of a qualitative nature. That is, fluent Creole speakers not only retain these grammatical features, but also their discourse functions and meaningful use in discourse contexts, and this better explains their differences from those who have shifted or are shifting to Spanish.

Hopper's (1982) seminal paper argued that TAM categories are of crucial importance in their varied lexical (e.g. lexical aspect), pragmatic and discourse manifestations across different languages. As an example, Hopper illustrates the case of Malay narratives in which perfective or time-bounded events are foregrounded to present the main events of a story, whereas imperfective or unbounded events provide the story background. On Creole languages, Hackert (2004, p. 66), for example, has found similar patterns in Bahamian Creole, in which the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect is crucial for the understanding of Creole speakers' utterances. She also shows the complexities of tense markers in the actual discourse, which is subject to the principles of relevance, efficiency, and non-redundancy. For example, the reference of a tense marked verb may apply to consecutive verbs that are in the same discourse domain and are unmarked. Indeed, Hackert (2004, pp. 68, 89) points out that a zero past tense marker/unmarked verb can be an instantiation of perfective aspect and that sometimes the presence of temporal adverbs and other discourse cues, establish the temporal reference in a given discourse (see the concept of functional load in section 7.1.3.3 and in Bardovi-Harlig (2015, p. 56)).

Similarly, Gooden (2008) makes a key contribution in dispensing with great detail the discourse aspects that control tense marking in Belizian Creole. She argued that lexical aspect (telic-atelic) and discourse are related in determining the variation of tense marking. She used an effective method that includes both elicited stories and spontaneous speech. Gooden's paper is contributory in showing with precision that, although telic verbs (time-bounded and end-point oriented) tend to occur in foregrounding the story and atelic verbs (time unbounded and end-less point oriented) in backgrouding, that is not always the case (2008, p. 308). Instead, she showed that a relative past marker is used in backgrounding, whereas unmarked verbs are used in foregrounding. As I will show next, this pattern from Belizian Creole is consistent with my data

from San Andrés and Providencia and indicates that Gooden's findings are extensible to other Caribbean English Creoles.

Example 82 shows the narrative of a fluent Creole speaker as a response to production task 1. Recall that, for this task, the participants narrated a cartoon depicting an interaction between a male and a female rabbit (see figure 3 and section 3.1.2.1 for more details). The story was told by Felisha, a 19 years-old female participant who lives in a traditional Raizal district from San Andrés. Felisha comes from a mixed family with a Raizal father and a continental Colombian mother, but she declares herself as Raizal, speaker of Creole, English, and Spanish, with little interaction with her maternal relatives. During several visits to her home, I observed that she always interacted with her acquaintances (sisters, aunts, neighbors) in Creole. With a 2.2/3.0 EV score, Felisha is in the higher EV rank, given that she declared Creole as her most frequent and preferred language in daily life and displays intensive emotional attachment to her native language and culture. She easily delivered the story and is placed in the higher fluency rank with 3.03 words per second (2.91 w/s when averaged across both story tasks). This short story also shows that she handles easily the narrative genre, masters all Creole features, and shows no imminent interference from Spanish. In the example, I highlight the relative past tense marker *wen* and any other past tense forms in boldface; the symbol (⦸) means a zero overt past tense marker. I also underlined any adverbial expression that may work as tense locus (Gooden, 2008, p. 312-313) to situate the events. Folloing Gooden (2008), I am going to explain these uses in the context of the narrative.

Creole story	English translation
(82) Felisha:	
(*Orientation*)	
[1] <u>One die</u> one man rabit **wen** deh pick op some flowaz	*'one day, a male rabbit was picking up some flowers out*
[2] out a wan gyadn,	*from one garden,*
(*Complicating action*)	
[3] ahn ihm ⦸ **pick up** one, den ihm ⦸ **pick up** two,	*and he picked up one, then he picked up two,*
[4] den ih ⦸ **pick up** three, ahn him ⦸ **ker** ih ahn **gaan**	*then he picked up three, and he carried them and went*
[5] ⦸ **gi** di gyal rabit. She ⦸ **get** happy an	*give the girl rabbit [them]. She got happy and*
[6] ihm ⦸ **receive** it fram ihm. <u>After</u>, when	*she received them from him. After, when*
[7] she ⦸ **realize** ahn ⦸ **see** seh di flowaz dem **wen**	*she realized and saw that the flowers were…*
[8] deh… like sad, like dem **wen** deh cry or **wen** deh	*like sad, like they were crying or were*

[9] haala or something like dat,	*crying or something like that,*
(*Evaluation*)	
[10] because di rabit **wen** haal out, de man rabbit	*because the rabbit had dug them out, the man rabbit*
[11] ⦸ **haal** out di flowaz dem out ah di gyadn ahn	*dug out the flowers out of the garden and*
[12] ihm **wen** deh destray ih.	*he was destroying it.*
(*Coda-the moral*)	
[13] De message you… weh dis give dah seh: you no fi	*The message you… that this gives is saying: you are not*
[14] destray something fi mek somebody else happy.	*supposed to destroy something to make somebody else happy.'*

Felisha's story shows the prototypical structure of narratives (Labov, 2013, pp. 27-32): the orientation, a complicating action, the evaluation, and the coda, which were delivered in this order. For the orientation (lines 1-2), Felisha started using the formulaic adverbial expression *one die* 'one day,' which sets both the discourse frame of the story and the past time tone. This device helps the narrator in backgrounding the story with a description of the situation: *One die one man rabit* ***wen*** *deh pick op some flowaz* 'One day, a man rabbit was picking up some flowers.' This construction contains a relative past marker *wen*, which establishes the past time reference, and the progressive marker *deh*, which implies an indefinite duraton (time unbounded) of the situation being described. All the adverbial expression, the relative past marker *wen,* and the progressive marker *deh* are characteristic discourse devices for backgrounding in Creole narratives (Gooden, 2008, p. 329) and, in this case, describing the initial story setting: a male rabbit was picking flowers.

The complicating action (lines 3-9), on the other hand, shows a different perspective both in the narrative flow and in the linguistic devices drafted to advance the story. First, the situation becomes complicated as the rabbit picked not one or two but three flowers, suggesting that this character was exceding a reasonable limit, from the narrator's perspective. Both the male and the female rabbits noticed the irreversible consequences of these actions and this is the most reportable event: namely, realizing that the unreflective actions of the male rabbit resulted in harm and trauma to others (the flowers). On the linguistic resources, the narrator produces a series of unmarked past tense verbs that included the flowers picking, the delivery, and the female's reaction: (1) picking: *ihm* ⦸ ***pick up*** *one […] two […] three, […]* 'he picked up one… two… three'; (2) delivery: *[…] him* ⦸ ***ker*** *ih* 'he carried it'; (3) female reaction: *She* ⦸ ***get*** *happy […]* ⦸ ***receive*** *it […]* 'She got happy and received them'. These unmarked verbs are

foregrounded as they provide the important events of the story and contribute to advancing the story line and speeding up the narrative flow. This is consistent with Gooden's (2008, p. 311) findings on Belizian Creole that unmarked verbs are primarly used in foregrounding the story.

This sequence of unmarked verbs in coordinated and adjacent clauses includes the form *gaan* 'went'. This is one of a few past tense forms that appeared to fossilize an English past tense form, an English past participle, or a modified form from these verbal forms. In my narrative corpus, I have found the following forms in boldface, whose possible derivational chain is shown in normal face: **gaan**<gone<go; **dong**<done<do **broke**<break; **ded**<dead<died<die. In these cases, the forms in boldface are interchangeable with the past tense form in their original context with equivalent meaning and are evidence that the speaker's intending meaning is a past tense one, which agrees with its adjacent clauses: him ⦸ **ker** ih ahn **gaan**, ⦸ **gi** di gyal rabit 'he carried (the flowers) and went, give the girl rabbit [the flowers].' Hackert (2004, p. 83) reported similar uses in Bahamian Creole with the forms *dead* and *dry*, which suggests common tendencies in different Creoles.

As part of the complicating action, the narrator introduced an adverbial expression *after*, which helped her to switch the time frame for the most reportable event. In this sequence (*after, when she* ⦸ ***realize*** *ahn* ⦸ ***see*** […] 'after, when she realized and see […]'), the narrator is assuming the female rabbit's perspective. It is important to notice that both ⦸ ***realize*** 'realized' and ⦸ ***see*** 'saw' are narrated as cognitive events occuring in the female rabbit's mind, rather than physical events. This cognitive perspective allows the narrator switching time frames, stepping back in the story line as a reflection of the female rabbit's thinking, and providing the most reportable event as the content of this cognitive process: *[…] seh di flowaz dem* ***wen*** *[…] deh cry* '[realizing…] that the flowers were […] crying'. In this case, the relative past marker ***wen*** signals the switch of time frame, which is one the discourse functions identified by Gooden (2008, pp. 312-313, 332, 337) for the relative past tense marker in Belizian Creole.

In the evaluation (lines 10-12), the narrator introduces her rational of the story and the conjunction *because* cues her evaluative perspective. This rational is not part of the story frame but it helps for backgrounding and the provision of explanatory material: *because di rabit* ***wen*** *haal out, de man rabbit* ⦸ ***haal*** *out di flowaz dem out ah di gyadn ahn ihm* ***wen*** *deh destray ih* 'because the rabbit had dug them out, the man rabbit dug out the flowers out of the garden and he was destroying it.' This evaluation contains a relative past marker with a non-stative verb *haal*

out ‘dig out’ with a past before past meaning: *di rabit* ***wen*** *haal out* ‘the rabbit had dug them out.’ In this story, this is the only case in which *wen* is not followed by a progressive form and is used with the cannonical function of past before past for non-stative verbs (see Bickerton cited by Gooden, 2008, pp. 307, 315). In a subsequent instance of the same verb *haal out* ‘dig out’: *de man rabbit* ***Ø haal*** *out di flowaz dem out ah di gyadn* ‘the man rabbit dug out the flowers out of the garden’, there is no tense marker, most likely because the past tense tone was set in the previous construction. The evaluation also contains a final token of *wen* for the provision of a concluding explanatory statement that summarizes the male rabbit’s action: *ihm* ***wen*** *deh destray ih* ‘he was destroying it [the flowers/the garden]’

Finally, in the story coda (lines 13-14), the narrator provides the moral of the story. Here, the narrator uses the expression *de message* ‘the message…’, which is formulaic to introduce the moral in a Creole story. As predicted by Labov (2013, p. 32), in this coda the narrator goes back to the present time and in fact the only two finite verbs (*give* and *dah* ‘is’) in this segment are provided in present tense, with *dah* as the present tense form of *to be* (=is): *De message you… weh dis* ***give dah*** *seh: you no fi destray something fi mek somebody else happy* ‘The message you… that this gives is saying: you are not supposed to destroy something to make somebody else happy.’ There are also two non-finite verbs in this coda: *destray* ‘destroy’ and *mek* ‘make’, as indicated by the complementizer/preposition *fi* ‘to/for’ that precedes them.

To conclude, in this section I have argued that the differences between fluent Creole speakers and those who are shifting to Spanish are not only quantative but also of an intrinsically qualitative nature. Namely, only fluent Creole speakers master all these complex nuances of Creole grammar in a complex discourse context, such as narratives. Speakers displayed these abilities spontaneously and fluently. For example, Felisha’s story contains only 118 words produced in the short time of 39 seconds, but her story is clearly a whole, coherent, and cohesive discourse unit that shows accuracy and consistency with all discourse aspects of Creole grammar that have been previously studied elsewhere (Gooden, 2008; Hackert, 2004). Those who are shifting to Spanish, on the other hand, do not handle these discourse complexities and required longer times to narrate, as I will show in the following section.

7.2 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND CREOLE FEATURES RETENTION

As discussed in the Literature Review (see Chapter 2), language maintenance is one of the possible outcomes of a language contact situation. The results on Objective EV (see chapter 4) and Subjective EV (see chapter 5) have shown that the language shift trends cannot be generalized to the whole islander community, and indeed the Raizal people have managed to keep their language alive despite mitigating circumstances, especially in San Andrés. Thus, rather than having a single outcome of vitality, we have seen different outcomes taking place simultaneously, such as some language shift trends coexisting with some language maintenance trends. Furthermore, there were differences among those who maintain the language, for example a higher EV in Providencia than in San Andrés, but an intensive ideological display of interethnic discordance in the latter (hot EV mode) as a response to the perceived threat.

In seeking the linguistic evidence, this section aims to find if these and other intraethnic differences (Rickford, 1985, p. 116) on EV may be reflected in the language. I do not attempt to posit a direct relationship or even a necessary relationship at all between EV and linguistic features. On the contrary, I acknowledge that this is a field of exploration and so I assume that any possible connection between them must be layered through complex ideological layers, patterns of language use, and multiple social variables that may easily emanate from the research tools. The first part of this section addresses a few more differences between the Creole-shifting group and the fluent Creole-speaking group in language use at higher and more complex discourse demands. The second part addresses some possible differences in the use and retention of specific linguistic features among the fluent Creole speakers only. With these purposes, I analyzed a corpus of 127 oral stories (31 from the Creole-shifting group and 96 from the fluent Creole-speaking group) that are reflective of the natural discourse, even though they are constrained to the narrative genre. I analyzed some differences in fluency and lexical size between the groups for the first section. For the second section, I analyzed the contrastive use of more or less conservative Creole features across different social variables such as gender, age, and island enclave only among the fluent-Creole speakers. This is because this latter group produced a proportionally larger, richer, and more homogenous corpus than the corpus from Creole-shifting participants.

7.2.1 Fluency and lexical differences

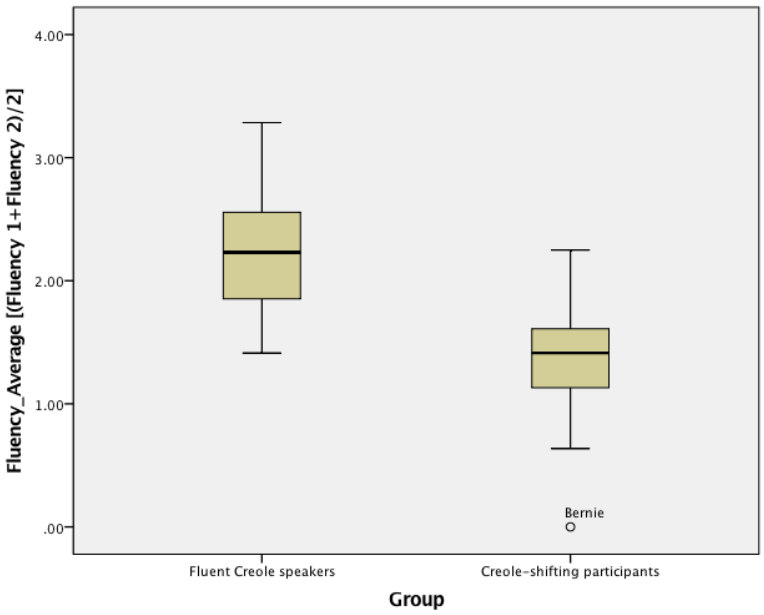
As described in the methods (chapter 3), all participants were prompted to narrate two different stories (see section 3.1.2.1). First, the participants narrated the story represented in a cartoon showing a fictitious interaction between a male rabbit and a female rabbit. In the second story, the participants were asked to narrate any Anansy story they were willing to tell. For those who did not remember a specific Anansy story, I provided them with a list of possible Anansy stories they may tell. For those who still could not remember any Anansy story, I played a short video clip picturing an Anansy story (Campbel et al., 2008) and then asked them to narrate the story in their own words. Both the cartoon and the video contained no priming conditions, except for some background music and some unintelligible low-volume voices at the beginning of the video.

As shown in Table 61, there were substantial differences between Creole-shifting and fluent Creole-speaking participants. Both groups were more productive in the second story, so the corpus from story 2 (16,512 words) doubles the corpus from story 1 (8,202 words) across both groups. In general, the participants enjoyed both narrations, but they were more engaged in the second (Anansy) story. Following Van Gompel, Arai, and Pearson (2012, p. 396), I used the number of words per unit of time as a numerical measure of fluency. A t-test found significant differences of the average fluency of the groups across both stories ($t = 6.05, df = 62, p < .001$), as shown in Figure 37. This means that fluent speakers produced a larger number of words per unit of time (2.22 words/second) than Creole-shifting participants (1.33 words/second).

Table 61. Corpus of narratives

	Story 1 (Cartoon story)		Story 2 (Anansy story)	
	Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole	Creole shifting	Fluent Creole
Participants who completed the task	16/16	48/48	15/16	48/48
Number of words	1,345	6,857	2,992	13,520
Average number of words per participant	83.81	141.79	185.63	284.69
Average duration per participant	67.63 seconds	73.15 seconds	127.25 seconds	118.35 seconds
Average fluency (#words / time)	1.25 words/sec.	1.97 words/sec.	1.48 words/sec	2.47 words/sec

Figure 37. Fluency differences



There were also some qualitative differences in the participants' narratives. The fluent Creole speakers were not only more fluent, but they also appeared as skillful and witty narrators. They performed the narrations, voiced the characters, mimic onomatopoeic sounds, eventually introduced humor in the stories, and overall made their narratives more vivid. This was particularly true for the second narration and especially for those who narrated Anansy stories on their own (25/48, 52.08%), which is consistent with the practice of story telling as a distinguishing feature of islander culture (see section 1.2.5.3). On the other hand, Creole-shifting participants appeared to be less skilled narrators and displayed less knowledge of Anansy stories, as only Clark told an Anansy story, while 14/16 (87.5%) narrated the video story and another speaker Bernie, could not retell any of them as this task was proved challenging for his actual language skills.

Moreover, Creole-shifting participants used more Spanish than fluent speakers both as individual random words and as whole text chunks. Example 83 shows a fragment of Harold's story, in which the passages that are not in Spanish were highlighted. In the example and in the remaining part of Harold's story, Spanish was dominant throughout, while a few words were delivered in Creole. It appears that the discourse demands of articulating the narratives were challenging for Harold and other participants from this group, so they tended to rely on their

dominant language (Spanish) or used it to fill vocabulary gaps, while delivering the task at a comparatively slow pace. This example suggests that Creole-shifting participants are bilingual Spanish-Creole speakers with different levels of bilingualism, even though the Creole they know appears to be a local variety of English (most likely influenced by school) without all complex nuances that fluent Creole speakers master (see section 6.2.1.1). As argued in section 7.1.3.4, this shows that the corpus from each group was not only quantitatively different but of a different nature.

> (83) Harold: *De boy w… e… de boy was staat* e… tocando e… ahn *de mom e… come ahn* e… le llevó una olla *ahn* para que cogiera frutas. El niño… e… la mamá lo llevó a donde estaban las frutas. Y se apareció el… el… un… un cocodrilo. *Ahn eat… ahn eat his mom. Ahn di, di boy* se asustó *ahn* luego cogió su… e… su tambor ahn em.. empezó a tocar *ahn de… ahn de* coco.. cocodrilo *staat to… to dance* y expulsó a… a… *his… his mom*.
>
> (*The boy w… e… the boy started to* e… play [the drums] e… and *the mom come and* she brought a pot for him to pick some fruits. The child e… the mom brought the child where the fruits were. And a crocodile appeared. *And [he] ate his mom. And the boy* got frightened *and* then he took his drum and started to play it and the crocodile *started to dance* and expelled his mom).

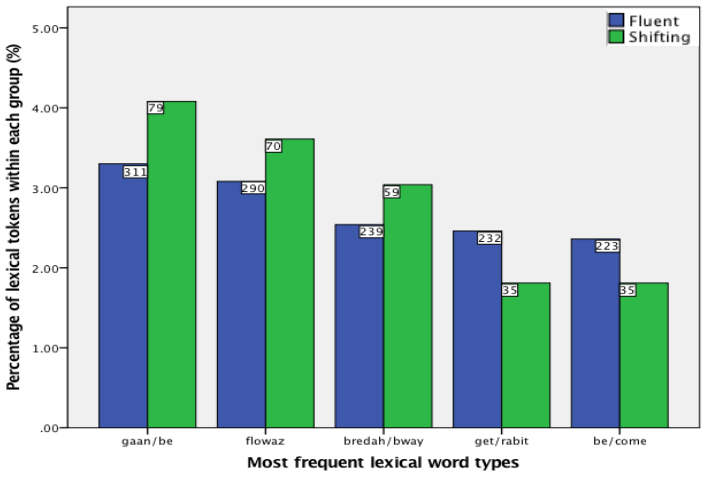
Furthermore, I analyzed word-types and word-tokens using the zipfR package in R (Bayeen, 2008, pp. 251-258), which returns measures of word frequency. Lexical words such as nouns (e.g. *tree*), verbs (e.g. *go*), adjectives (e.g. *nice*) and some adverbs (e.g. *soon*) occupied nearly half of the corpus from each corpus (1,938/4,377 tokens (44.69%) among Creole-shifting participants and 9,415/20,377 tokens (46.2%) among fluent Creole speakers), while grammatical words and interjections occupied the rest. As displayed in Table 62, there was a contrast between both groups within lexical words, so the proportion of Spanish word-types (25.45%) and Spanish word-tokens (15.84%) was considerably larger among the Creole-shifting participants than among the fluent Speakers (with percentages below 3% for both word types and word-tokens).

Table 62. Lexical word frequency by groups (both stories)

	Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole
Lexical types (N)	334	838
Non-Spanish word types	249 (74.55%)	819 (97.73%)
Spanish word types	85 (25.45%)	19 (2.27%)
Lexical tokens (N)	1,938	9,415
Non-Spanish word tokens	1,631 (84.16%)	9,299 (98.77%)
Spanish word tokens	307 (15.84%)	116 (1.23%)

Figure 38 contrasts the five word-types with the highest token-frequency within each group. The words are displayed on the X-axis, the raw frequencies are placed on top of each bar, and the percentage of tokens with respect to the total number of lexical tokens in each group is displayed on the Y-axis. These word-types reached similar proportions of nearly 5% of all lexical tokens within each group; the proportion was slightly higher among the Creole-shifting participants for the first three words (*be, flowaz* 'flowers', and *bway* 'boy') but decreased slightly for the last two (*rabit* 'rabbit' and *come*). *Flowaz* happened to be the second most common word-type in both groups, which likely relates to the topic of the first story. Although no Spanish word reached these frequencies, *tambor* 'drum' (34/1,938 tokens, 1.75%) and *mamá* 'mother' (32/1,938 tokens, 1.65%) followed closely in the seventh and eight positions respectively among the Creole-shifting participants. These two words were in the lowest frequency tail among fluent speakers: *mamá* 38/9,299 tokens (0.4%); *tambor* 8/9,299 tokens (0.09%).

Figure 38. Five word-types with the highest frequency in each group



Although the differences in fluency and in the use of Spanish may suggest more lexical richness among fluent speakers, this conclusion cannot be made loosely. In a given corpus, lexical types tend to be copious at the beginning but they tend to decrease onwards and, therefore, the bigger corpus would show a more precise estimate of lexical richness than the smaller one (Bayeen, 2008, pp. 244, 250). Namely, the analysis of lexical richness largely depends on corpus size and, while bigger corpus allow more precise estimates, the corpus from fluent speakers is much bigger than that from Creole-shifting participants, not only because of their fluency but also because there were more fluent participants.

Furthermore, the models of lexical richness assume that words are randomly chosen and independent of each other (Bayeen, 2008, pp. 244, 251, 255). This was not necessarily the case in my corpus, as topic words that depended on the tasks, such as *flowaz* 'flowers', *bway* 'boy', and *rabit* 'rabbit', are among the most frequent word types. Finally, word frequencies (if random) are part of what Bayeen called 'rare events' and even the most frequent lexical words are admittedly scattered (less than 5% of all lexical word tokens). Nevertheless, given that fluent and Creole-shifting participants were substantively different in fluency, sample size, and corpus traits (e.g. more/less Spanish, performance of stories), in the next section I will focus on the fluent Creole speakers exclusively.

7.2.2 Creole features and the agents of Creole feature retention

With 96 oral stories and more than 20,000 words, the corpus from the fluent Creole-speaking group is considerably large. Given the consistent procedure to collect this corpus across all participants from both San Andrés and Providencia, it produced comparable samples of speech of the same genre (narratives) and similar extension for each participant. These conditions maximize the comparability of the data across social variables such age group, gender, and island enclave. Furthermore, for the elicitation of the stories, I encouraged the participants to narrate the stories as naturally as possible. The second story was apparently more successful than the first one in achieving naturalness, given that Anansy stories and the narration of a video framed as an Anansy story quickly tied to the participants' ethos and relevant cultural practices (see section 1.2.5.3). Indeed, the participants' performance of the stories (voicing characters, shifting speech style, mimicry of non-speech sounds) suggests that the corpus is arguably reflective of

spontaneous speech, even though it is restricted to the narrative genre. Table 63 summarizes the topic structure of the corpus.

Table 63. Corpus of oral stories – Fluent Creole speakers

	Stories	Number of words
Total	96	20,377
Story 1 – The rabbits (narration of a printed cartoon)	48	6,857
Story 2	48	13,520
- The strange creature (narration of a played video)	[22]	[5,545]
- Anansy stories	[26]	[8,120]
+ Breda Taiga and breda Monkey gaan fishing (‘go fishing’)	[5]	
+ Breda Taiga and breda Anansy mek a ground (‘set a grove’)	[4]	
+ Breda Anansy ride breda Taiga like ina a haas (‘like a horse’)	[4]	
+ Breda Taiga and breda Gulling gaan party (‘went to a party’)	[2]	
+ Breda Anansy teach honesty to breda Taiga	[2]	
+ Other individual Anansy stories	[9]	

There were equal number of narratives of story 1 (48) and story 2 (48), with the second yielding more words. For the second story, there were both oral narratives of a video clip and Anansy stories, as the participants completed one or the other. In lieu of an Anansy story, speakers narrated of a short video clip if they could not remember any Anansy story. The video was entitled *The strange creature* (Campbel et al., 2008) and it was about a courageous boy who rescues his mom from a strange creature in the jungle. There were a variety of Anansy stories about different characters, such as breda Taiga, breda Anansy, breda Gulling, breda Monkey, a fox, a pig, and a wolf, among other stories, which were all amusing and joyful narratives implicitly teaching some values of islander culture.

With the purpose of seeking some possible linguistic evidence of EV, in this corpus I will analyze linguistic features that may reflect differences in social variables. I will focus the discussion on whether or not some differences on the language may convey distinctive intra-ethnic identities (Rickford, 1985, p. 116). Importantly, I am not submitting that the differences, if any, have a causal relationship with EV; on the contrary, they may be reflective of geographical,

sociolinguistic, historical, and also EV differences, which are all compounded. I will also attempt to tie the discussion to the language ideologies already discussed (see chapter 6), assuming similar to Milroy (2000, p. 64) that language may be reflective of an ideological distribution of the linguistic repertoire, in particular of varieties perceived as more or less standard. For example, the varieties may be distributed by gender, age, geographical place or a compound interaction of them.

The pilot study suggested some possible differences between the islands, the age groups, and the genders in some features, such as plural, progressive, and locative markers. In the current corpus, I explored some linguistic features that have been documented as common of many Creoles of the world (Holm, 2012, p. 257) and especially those identified as characteristic of Caribbean Creoles (Schneider, 2012, pp. 490-491). Table 64 shows raw frequencies for some Creole markers without identyfing their specific functions yet, given that most of them are polysemic and have multiple functions.

Table 64. Raw frequencies of key Creole markers

Creole markers	Raw frequencies	Creole markers	Raw frequencies
dem	550	wen/win	96
deh	327	gwain	89
fi	313	mi	70
seh	295	pan/pah	70
no	224	dah	57
ina	116	weh	49

I will constrain the analysis to the features that emerged as sociolinguistically relevant and to those that are statistically prominent in the corpus. For now, I will continue further with *dem, deh, fi, and seh,* which are above 300 tokens or close to that number, giving an average number of at least six tokens per participant. The features with their variants were submitted as dependent variables to a series of mixed effects models in R-brul (Johnson, 2009). Other linguistic variables (contexts of the dependents), the story that was source of each token (story 1-the narration of a cartoon, and story 2-Anansy stories), the island enclave, gender, and age group

of the participants were set as independent factors. The participants were set as a random factor. The results from each model will be presented independently for each linguistic feature analyzed.

7.2.2.1 *Dem*. Table 65 displays the statistical results for the use of the Creole marker *dem*, which has different functions related to plurality and collectivity. Similar to the logistic regression models from section 7.1.3, the upper part of the table includes basic statistical information, even though for mixed models I listed the r^2 total, which is the total variance of the dependent variable explained by the model. Among different options related to plurality, *dem* was the most common, so it was set as the application value and assessed against other options. The linguistic variable Context, which frames the possible contexts for *dem* and other variants, was excluded, given that it yielded a knock out (K.O). This was because *dem* was categorically used as a non-subject pronoun (91.6%) and it was rarely used in Indefinite Determiner Phrases (DP) (7.2%). The story was a significant factor ($p < .001$), as *dem* was more used in the second story (Anansy stories) than in the first one (narrations of a cartoon). This means that Anansy stories were more successful to trigger the use of *dem* than the narratives elicited from a cartoon, probably because the former are more related to the islander ethos. Age was a significant factor ($p = .016$), as the young adults used *dem* more frequently than the older adults. Gender approached significance ($p = .051$) with females using more *dem* than males, while the island enclave was not significant, as the participants from both islands used *dem* with similar frequencies. I will discuss these variables further when presenting the specific results.

Table 66 displays all levels of the dependent other than *dem*, which were collapsed for the statistical test. The proportion of marker choice is displayed across each row. The linguistic variable Context was a knock out, as the contexts of *dem* appear to be clearly defined and left little for variation. *Dem* was primarily used as a third person plural pronoun both in subject (85.3%) and in non-subject positions (91.6%), such as direct and indirect objects and possessive, while their counterparts *they* and *them* registered much lower frequencies.

Table 65. Mixed effects analysis for Creole marker *dem*

	[dem / (dem + other choices)]		
Input	.679		
Total N	872		
r^2 total	**.321** [= .133 fixed + .188 random]		
	N	% dem	FW
Context	---		
Non-Subject position	143	91.6	K.O
Subject position	306	85.3	
Def DP	284	52.1	
Indef DP	139	7.2	
Story	*p < .001**		
Story 2 (Anansy story)	364	76.4	0.64
Story 1 (Cartoon rabbits)	508	53.5	0.36
Age group	*p < .016**		
Young adults	389	70.4	0.59
Older adults	483	57.1	0.40
Gender	*p = .051*		
Females	457	68.9	0.58
Males	415	56.6	0.42
Island	*p = .713*		
Providencia	411	64.2	51.5
San Andrés	461	62.0	48.5

Table 66. Plurality choices

Environment	**dem**	**them**	**they**	**-s**	**Total**
Non subject position	131 (91.6%)	11 (7.69%)	1 (0.69%)	0	143
Subject position	261 (85.3%)	0	45 (14.7%)	0	306
Def DP	148 (52.1%)	0	0	136 (47.9%)	284
Indef DP	10 (7.19%)	0	0	129 (92.8%)	139
Total	550 (63.1%)	11 (1.3%)	46 (5.3%)	265 (30.4%)	872 (100%)

Examples 84 a through c illustrate these different uses of *dem* and its counterparts *them* and *they*. Alice (84a), a young female participant, used *dem* as coreferent for a group of characters: *breda Taiga, breda Daag, breda Monkey,* and *Anansy*, both in subject position of the verbs *gaan* 'went' and *see*, and as a possessive of the noun *kanoo* 'their canoe.' Similarly, Georgianna (84b), an older adult female, used *dem* as coreferent of *flowaz* 'flowers' in object position, complementing the verb *tek* 'took'. On the other hand, Vincent (84c), an older adult male, used *them* and *they* as coreferents of the collective noun *family* both in object and in subject positions, respectively.

***Dem/they* as subject [___ V] and *dem/them* as non-subject [V ___; ___ N]**

(84) a. Alice: One time […] *breda Taiga, breda Daag, […] breda Monkey, ahn Anansy*$_i$, ***dem***$_i$ gaan ahn fishing ina ***dem***$_i$ kanoo ahn meanwhile […] ***dem***$_i$ see something ina de battom of de sea.
('*Once upon a time […], brother Tiger, brother dog, […] brother Monkey, and Anansy*$_i$, ***they***$_i$ *went fishing in* ***their***$_i$ *canoe and meanwhile,* ***they***$_i$ *saw something on the bottom of the sea.*')

b. Georgianna: Di bwayfriend rabit pick *flowaz*$_i$ […] fi di girlfriend rabit […] ahn she tek ***dem***$_i$.
('*The boyfriend rabbit picked some flowers*$_i$ *up […] for his girlfriend rabbit […] and she took* ***them***$_i$**'**)

c. Vincent: Beda Taiga decide that he was going to eat *all of […] beda Anansy […] children and beda Anansy ihmself, the entire family*$_i$. He wanted to eat ***them***$_i$ *the Anansy family*$_i$, ***they***$_i$ were upon a tree.

These data indicate the generalization of the form *dem* to supply all pronominal functions of the third person plural and collective references (e.g. *family*), such as subject, object, and possesive, which are supplied by different forms in English (Bartens, 2003, pp. 43-48). The use of *dem* was more categorical in positions other than subject, as *they* was also used in subject position by some participants. Vincent (84c), for instance, used both *they* as subject and *them* as direct object (both coreferents of *family*). It is important to notice that, beyond these variants, Vincent was consistently using other English-like features, such as the complementizer *that* instead of *seh*, the progressive *to be* + *-ing* instead of *deh* + *verb*, the past tense suffix *–ed*, and the copular verb *to be* for a locative function: *they were upon a tree*. Still, a few lexical choices and most likely his intonation patterns (which would need further research) cued his speech as Creole, such as *bedah* 'brother', *ihmself* 'himself', and the bare verb *decide* for past tense.

On the other hand, *dem* has been described as a plural marker in DPs (Bartens, 2003, p. 30). However, O'Flynn de Chaves (1990, p. 85) explains that, given that "dem only appears when the nominative is defined […] through a definite article, a demonstrative, or a proper

noun", it should be considered as a collective rather than a plural marker. I certainly found more uses of *dem* in definite DPs (52.1%), whereas it was categorically avoided in indefinite DPs (7.19%), in favor of an exclusive use of *–s* (92.8%). O'Flynn de Chaves' statement is important here because among the 148 uses of *dem* in definite DPs, 113 (76.4%) combined both *–s* as a nominal suffix and *dem* as a collective marker, while only 35 (23.6%) have a bare noun with no plural *–s*. This means that *dem* and *–s* are not mutually exclusive and gives evidence for O'Flynn de Chaves' statement of *dem* as a collective marker. These data, however, contrast with the exclusive use of *–s* (not combined with *dem*) in definite DPs (47.9%), suggesting that *collective* and *plural* are not sharp categories. Examples 85 a through d contrast these different uses.

***Dem* as collective marker [N-(s) ____]**

(85) a. Leslie: We cut dong <u>*all de tree dem*</u> in Providence
'We cut down all the trees in Providence' # No tree left

b. Elliot: De gyadn with <u>*de flowaz dem*</u> was very sad
'The garden with the flowers was very sad' # The garden with all flowers on it

c. Byron: Ihm deh pick <u>*some flowaz*</u>
'He is picking some flowers' # Some flowers but not all

d. Timothy: A rabit go pick op <u>*two or three flowaz*</u> for gi her girlfriend
'A rabbit go picking up two or three flowers for his girlfriend' # The remaining flowers left

Example (85a) shows a definite DP with a bare noun (*tree*), a definite article *de* 'the', and a universal quantifier *all*. In this example, Leslie adapted the rabbit cartoon to an ecological interpretation of the local environment and pictured the effects of deforestation affecting "all the trees." Similarly, in a definite DP, Elliot (85b) portrayed the whole garden as sad, meaning that a feeling of sadness emerges from the garden as a whole, not from a particular flower. Here, definite DP means that the reference of the DP is assumed to be identifiable by the listener as a unique specific entity, which he/she is familiar enough with, either from previous knowledge, the situation, or the linguistic context itself (Abbott, 2006). Definite DPs include those with definite articles (*de* 'the'), demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *dis ya 'this'*), possessive pronouns (e.g. *my*), and universal quantifiers (e.g. *all*) as determiners of the phrase (Abbott, 2004, p. 123). In my data, most of the cases of *dem* as collective marker included these determiners and tended to appear when the discourse references have been well established in the stories.

On the other hand, examples 85 c and d show indefinite DPs without *dem*. Byron (85c) conveys that the rabbit was picking some flowers but not all, while Timothy (85d) states that he was picking (just) two or three flowers. Here, indefinite DP means that the reference of the DP is not unique, as it is often used to introduce new information in the discourse (Abbott, 2006). Indefinite DPs include those with an indefinite article singular (e.g. *one, a(n)*) or plural (e.g. *some*), numbers (e.g. *two*, *three*), and relative quantifiers (e.g. *a bunch, plenty, few*). Although it has been assumed that in Creole, the plurality can be conveyed with quantifiers other than *dem*, (Bartens 2003: 31), the coexistence of *dem* and *–s* suggests that, rather than plurality alone, the primary function of *dem* in Definite DPs is indicating a totality or collectivity. Thus, when an indefinite article or quantificational expression indicates an atomic reading of the structure, dividing a group into parts (Kobuchi-Philip, 2006, pp. 269-272), the collective marker *dem* is disfavored (i.e. 7.19% of Indef DP). When the reference of DP is projected as an indivisible totality, *dem* stands to indicate such collectivity and is not incompatible with the suffix *–s*.

Admittedly, only half of the definite DPs (52.1%) contained a collective marker *dem* either standing alone or combined with *–s,* whereas another half (47.9%) used exclusively *–s* (not combined with *dem*). This is because some speakers only used the suffix *–s,* as in example 86a from Irene. This suggests that *collective* and *plural* are blurring categories and that *dem* may convey collectivity perhaps for some speakers but not necessarily for all (Bartens, 2003, p. 30). There are issues that deserve further research, such as the use of *dem* in indefinite DPs in example 86b and a possible lexicalization of plural nouns (with suffix *–s*), which were taken as singular by a few participants and combined with indefinite singular articles, as shown in example 86c. This means that *–s* may be opaque for some participants.

***Dem* as collective marker [N-(s) ____]**

(86) a. Irene: De girlfriend receive the flowarz with joyful. 'The girlfriend received the flowers with joyful'

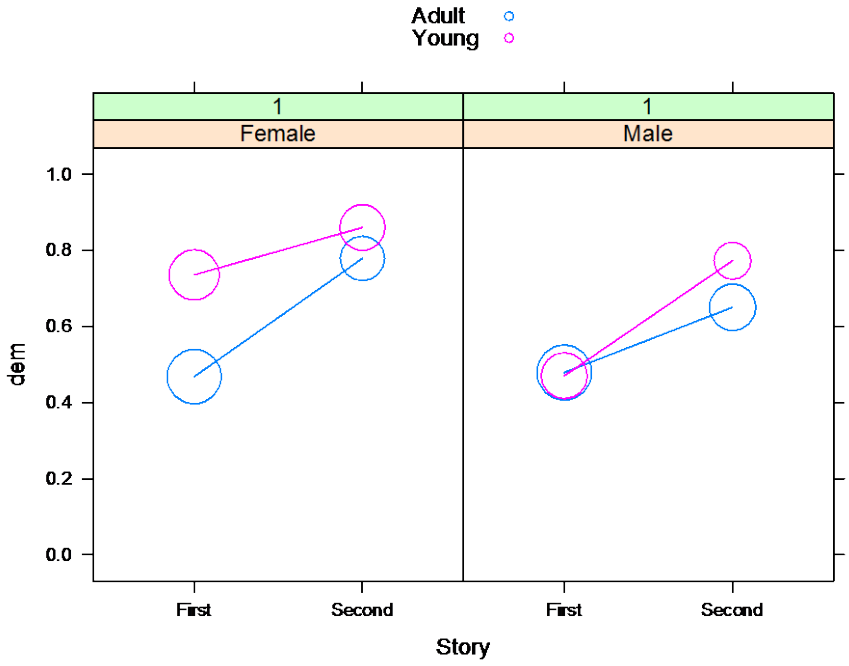
b. Patrick: One time, we gat *one piknini dem* 'One time, we (may/will) get children'

c. Timothy: De istory talk about one uman ahn one young boys '…a woman and a young boy'

Lastly, there was a significant contrast between younger and older adults and a contrast approaching significance between males and females. Figure 39 depicts the contrast between age groups by gender across stories. The figure displays weighted means from 0 to 1 in the Y-axis for each age group (older adults in blue and young adults in pink) across stories in the X-axis:

first story (narrations of a cartoon) and second story (Anansy stories). The left panel displays the patterns for females and the right panel for males. Higher means favor *dem* while the lines joining those means represent the differences between both stories: the larger the slope the larger the difference. The circles represent the number of tokens in each cell: the wider the circle the larger the number of tokens. These circles were scaled at 0.45 to make the patterns clearer.

Figure 39. Use of *dem* by age by gender across stories



Both young and older adults used *dem* more frequently in story 2, even though that difference is more noticeable for females. In story 2, females used *dem* more than males, while young females registered the highest means of *dem* in both stories. The contrast between the young and the older generations ties to the ideology of the elders as retainers of varieties that are more similar to English (see section 6.1.1.2). Most importantly, given that the older adults' speech is taken as a model of English or a 'purer', 'uncorrupted' and 'pretty' Creole, the Creole marker *dem* may be perceived as vernacular and appropriate of varieties of the youngsters. The generational difference is also related to different linguistic attitudes. While the young participants acknowledged the speech of the elders as exemplar, they also displayed strong positive feelings towards islander culture and the Creole language. Their more active use of *dem* may also indicate an active resistance to the language shift processes, a less normative use of the

language, and a response to the constraints from the elders (Eckert, 1997, pp. 154, 162-164). Women, and especially young women, appear to lead this resistance trend. This is consistent with the description of women as agents of gender differentiation (Labov, 2001, p. 321) and also the agents of Creole retention and Creole EV, even though this would need further examination across other features.

7.2.2.2 *Deh*. The following adjustments were made to the data before running the statistical model for *deh*. First, there were 327 tokens of *deh* and this was the most common choice for both progressive and locative expressions. Of these tokens, 18 belonged to copular sentences (10 locative, 8 non-locative); this subset was excluded given the low number of tokens contrasting with other possible copular choices (see section 7.1.3.1). Secondly, Abraham, Helen, Ulysses, Irene, and George were excluded, given that they never used *deh* as progressive or locative marker but other variants. Although these participants had to be excluded, this is an important indication about this variable given that they all were older adults and none used *deh*. These adjustments yielded a total of 309 tokens of *deh*, which still was the most common choice for progressive and locative utterances. Table 67 displays the statistical results upon the adjustments.

On the dependent variable, *deh* was set as the application value. The linguistic function framing the possible contexts of *deh* was included as an independent factor with two levels: (1) Progressive and (2) Locative. Only the linguistic context ($p < .001$) and age group ($p = .009$) were significant predictors of *deh*. Regarding the linguistic context, Table 68 displays all levels of the dependent variable other than *deh*, which were previously collapsed for the statistical test. *Deh* was significantly preferred as a locative marker (75%) over *thiere/there* (25%), whereas that preference decreased for progressive constructions (64.6%), allowing more use of other variants with the same function: *-ing* and *be* + *-ing* (35.39%). On age groups, the young adults used *deh* significantly more frequently than older adults, who alternatively used *deh* and other variants both in locative and in progressive utterances.

Table 67. Mixed effects analysis for Creole marker *deh*

	[deh / (deh + other choices)]		
Input	.785		
Total N	465		
r^2 total	**.395** [= .139 fixed + .256 random]		
	N	% deh	FW
Context	*p < .001**		
Locative (V(C) __)	84	75.0	0.66
Progressive (__V)	381	64.6	0.34
Age group	*p = .009**		
Young adults	274	75.5	0.65
Older adults	191	53.4	0.35
Island	*p = .103*		
San Andrés	257	71.2	0.59
Providencia	208	60.6	0.41
Gender	*p = .157*		
Females	266	69.2	0.58
Males	199	62.8	0.42
Story	*p = .444*		
Story 2 (Anansy story)	312	68.3	0.53
Story 1 (Cartoon rabbits)	153	62.7	0.47

Table 68. Locative and progressive choices

Environment	**deh***	**thiere✧**	**-ing**	**be + -ing**	**Total**
Locative (V(C) ___)	63 (75.0%)	21 (25.0%)	0	0	84
Progressive (___V)	246 (64.6%)	0	111 (29.1%)	24 (6.29%)	381
Total	309 (66.5%)	21 (4.4%)	111 (23.9%)	24 (5.2%)	465 (100%)
* One token of *deh* + *-ing* was included in this column ✧Two tokens of *there* were included in this column.					

Examples 87 a and b contrast the alternative use of *deh* and *thiere* as locatives. Dianne (87a), a young participant from San Andrés, was telling a story about Brother Anansy and Brother Tiger farming a grove that they shared and how Brother Tiger discovered Anansy thieving his crop. In her example, *deh* is coindexed with *the grove*, which serves as its deictic

reference. Similarly, Vincent (87b), an older adult participant from the same island, was telling a story about Tiger's malicious intentions of eating Anansy family, who sheltered on a tree. In his example, *deh* is coindexed with *the tree*, which serves as its deictic reference. Here, both *deh* and *thiere* have an equivalent function as demonstrative adverbs to convey some distance from the speaker (Bartens, 2003, p. 71) and differ in that the later is more closely aligned with the English model *there*, while the former is a conservative Creole marker. Both *deh* and *thiere* are deictic expressions and, more precisely, spatial deictics whose meaning is locative and whose reference can be retrieved from the discourse context, as in the examples, from previous knowledge, or from the situation itself (Levinson, 2004, pp. 103-119). These deictics are usually placed immediately after the verb they supplement, even though a complement can appear between them.

Locative demonstrative adverbs *deh/thiere* [V(C) ___]

(87) a. Dianne: Taiga go back by *de ground*$_i$ ahn see dat, "who thieve […] mi plant dem?" So, ihm stye *deh*$_i$, ihm stye one die dah *de ground*$_i$ till nigh.
(*Tiger went back to the grove$_i$ and see that, "who has thieved […] my plants?" So, he stayed there$_i$, he stayed one day on the grove$_i$ till night*)

b. Vincent: The Anansy's family, they were upon *a tree*$_i$. And so they were *thiere*$_i$, on *the tree*$_i$.

On the other hand, examples 88 a through c show different uses of progressive. Rick (88a), a young participant from Providencia, used the Creole marker *deh* with each of the verbs, conveying a progressive meaning in relation to the activities performed by the rabbit on the garden (story 1). It must be noticed that *deh* conflates both the progressive aspect of a main verb, such as the examples discussed on section 7.1.3.1 (e.g. *De taiga deh ketch a woola* 'the tiger is hunting a boa'), and the use of progressive in adjectival and nominal clauses, as in Rick's example, which in English is usually conveyed with *–ing* standing alone (without the auxiliary *to be*). Namely, the English translation shows that 'bending down and breaking off flowers' is complementing the noun *rabbit*. This may also partially explain the higher frequency of *–ing* with no auxiliary verb (29.1% of all progressive utterances) as compared to be + *-ing* (6.29%). Indeed, Haley (88b), an older adult participant from San Andrés, used *–ing* in non-subordinated clauses *surprising* and *telling*, where English would require an auxiliary *to be*. Thus, those who privileged *–ing* over *deh* might be drifting the functions of *deh* to *–ing*. Finally, Jazmine (88c),

an older adult from Providencia, combined the auxiliary form *is* and *–ing*, displaying a more English-like use, which was observed, especially among the older adults.

Progressive *deh / ∅/ is* [___ V(-ing)]

(88) a. Rick: I see de rabit ***deh bend*** down ***deh broke off*** flowaz
'I see the rabbit bending down breaking off flowers'

b. Haley: Taiga used to go before ahn tek out de fish dem […] Anansy staat sospech […] so him ***surprising*** ahn ***telling*** ya ahn sii why […] dem only get likle bit fish
'Tiger used to go beofre and take out the fish […] Anansy start to suspect […] so he was surprising and telling him, here, and I see why they only get little fish.'

c. Jazmine: He ***is digging off*** de flowaz ahn he is offering ih to de gyal
'He is digging the flowers and offering them to the girl'

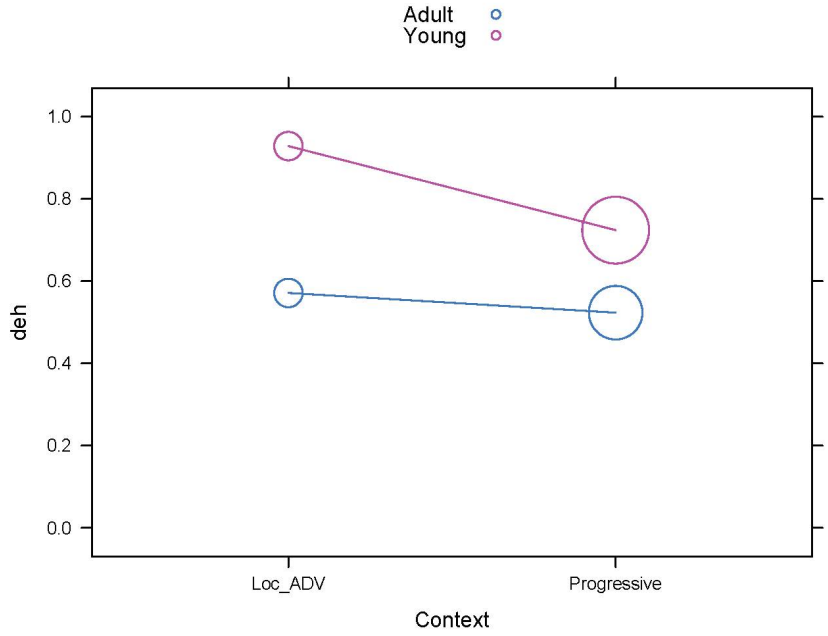
The examples selected for *deh* both as progressive and as locative are clear. Although other examples of the English-like to be + *-ing* and *thiere* are equally clear, *deh* leads for slightly more complex cases, such as the consecutive occurrence of the locative copula *deh* and the demonstrative locative adverb *deh* in example (89a). The deictic *deh* and the progressive *deh* may also co-occur, as in example (89b). This concatenation of markers with multiple functions usually makes that those who used them more frequently (the youngsters) keep using them through a discourse unit or speech chunk, while those who used the English-like features (i.e. *be* + *-ing, thiere*) keep using these and other English-like features, as in example (89c). This presumably maximizes the differences between the age groups. There are also some cases in which the speakers mixed more and less conservative Creole features, even in the same speech string, such as example (89d) from Thomas, who is my oldest participant from San Andrés.

(89) a. One monsta wen	***deh deh***		'a monster was there'
b. A piece ah stomp stye	***deh deh***	bliid	'a piece of a stump remains there bleeding'
c. Devon: When we	***are slepping thiere***		[…] de botta *(butter)* come around any of us
d. Thomas: You left de stomp	***thiere deh***	bliid	'you left de stump there bleeding'.

In this section I have shown that *deh* had privilige use for both locative deixis and progressive utterances over their counterparts and more English-like forms *thiere* and (*to be* +) *–ing*. The preference for *deh* was stronger for locative deixis, while *-ing* slightly increased for

progressive. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 40, the young adults used *deh* more frequently than the older adults and this is consistent with the previous section in which the youngsters also used *dem* more frequently. This consistent trend may suggest one more time that the young fluent Creole speakers may resist the language shift processes through the active and comparatively more frequent use of conservative Creole features. The older adults, on the other hand, appear to swing between the conservative Creole variants and the less conservative features that are more English-like. This is not surprising given the major exposure they had to English through early education, the pervasive ideologies of English or an Anglicized Creole as more respectable, and the ideological orientation of some participants toward the English heritage in the islands.

Figure 40. Use of *deh* by age groups across contexts



7.2.2.3 *Complementizer choices*. According to Washabaugh (1974, p. 39), in Islander Creole both *seh* and *fi* are used as complementizers to introduce finite and non-finite clauses, respectively. *Fi* also fulfills other functions (e.g. prepositional) and *seh* complementizer is homonym with the verb *seh* 'to say'. *Da, dat,* or *that*, which are more English-like, compete with *seh* as complementizer, while *fi* competes with *to* and *for,* both as complementizer and for other uses. Given the complexity of this system, the following adjustments were made to the data. First, among the 294 tokens of *seh*, 160 instances of the verb *seh* 'to say' were excluded.

Secondly, I excluded all tokens of *da/dat* and *that* as demonstrative (e.g. *dat rabit* 'that rabbit') and relative pronoun (e.g. *de rabit dat deh pick de flowaz dem* 'the rabbit who is picking the flowers'). Finally, *Abraham*, *Devon*, *Marilyn*, *Ulysses*, and *Vincent* were excluded, as they never used the most frequent marker *fi*. As in the previous section, this is important because all of them were older adults who consistently used choices other than *fi* (e.g. *for, that, dat, to*), in contexts where other speakers do it. These adjustments yielded a total of 757 tokens of *fi*, *for*, *seh*, *da/dat, that*. Of them, *fi* was the most frequent with 313 tokens and so it was set as the application value. Table 69 displays the statistical results for this marker.

Table 69. Mixed effects analysis for Creole marker *fi*

	[fi / (fi + other choices)]		
Input	.306		
Total N	757		
r^2 total	**.355** [= .243 fixed + .112 random]		
	N	% fi	FW
Context	*p < .001**		
Non finite clauses	390	59.0	0.77
Other uses	124	33.1	0.50
Finite clauses	243	17.3	0.23
Age group	*p = .024**		
Young adults	420	44.8	0.59
Older adults	337	37.1	0.42
Story	*p = .041**		
Story 2 (Anansy story)	474	45.4	0.55
Story 1 (Cartoon rabbits)	283	34.6	0.45
Island	*p = .277*		
San Andrés	414	43.0	0.54
Providencia	343	39.4	0.46
Gender	*p = .769*		
Females	397	41.6	0.51
Males	360	41.1	0.49

The linguistic context was a significant predictor ($p < .001$), with *fi* being the most frequent choice (59%) for non-finite clauses, while it was less frequent in finite clauses (17.3%) and other uses (33.1%). Age group was also significant ($p = .024$), as the young adults used *fi* (44.8%) more frequently than the older adults (37.1%). Finally, the two narrative tasks yielded significant differences, as the proportion of *fi* against other choices was bigger in the second story (Anansy stories) (45.4%) than in the first one (the narration of a cartoon) (34.6%). The island enclave and gender were not significant predictors of *fi*. Table 70 displays the number of tokens for each of the markers and the proportion of choice per linguistic context.

Table 70. Complementizer and prepositional choices

Context	**fi**	**for**	**to**	**seh**	**da/dat**	**that**	**Total**
Non-finite clauses	230 (59.0%)	7 (1.8%)	153 (39.2%)	0	0	0	390
Finite clauses	42 (17.3%)	0	3 (1.2%)	129 (53.1%)	56 (23%)	13 (5.4%)	243
Other uses	41 (33.1%)	16 (12.9%)	67 (54.0%)	0	0	0	124
Total	313 (41.3%)	23 (3.0%)	223 (29.5%)	129 (17.0%)	56 (7.4%)	13 (1.7%)	757

Regarding the linguistic variable, the term *clause* was understood here as a structure formed of a verb and a subject, which can be explicit or implicit. Clauses can be finite, if tensed, or non-finite, if untensed, and they can be autonomous or embedded, if appearing inside another clause (Carnie, 2002, pp. 143-163). Complementizers are words used to introduce a clause inside another clause. For the sake of clarity and given that Creole tense markers are used in few cases (e.g. some but not all past tenses), a finite clause was understood as one in which an explicit subject appears in the embedded clause domain (i.e. after the complementizer) or one in which there is a cue indicating tense (i.e. a tense marker) within the embedded clause.

Examples 90 a and b contrast the alternative use of *fi* and *to* to introduce non-finite clauses. Oliver (90a) is a young participant from San Andrés and he was narrating the second story about "The strange creature." He used *fi* to introduce an embedded clause that complements the meaning of the verb *to tell*. The embedded clause (*go pick op de fruit dem fi eat*) is a non-finite clause whose verb *go* implicitly relates to *ihm* 'he', which is out of the embedded clause domain. The English translation shows that *fi* encompasses the use of *to* as

infinitive marker, which is a case of a non-finite verb. Indeed, Irene (90b), as with other older adults, uses *to* in a similar construction to express purpose or desire.

Subordinate non-finite clauses with *fi/for/to* [Subj$_1$-V$_1$ ___ [V$_2$]]

(90) a. Oliver: (Di muma)$_{subj1}$ (come)$_{V1}$ ahn tell ihm	**fi**	(go)$_{V2}$ pick op de fruit dem fi eat
'The mother came and told him	to	go [and/to] pick fruits up for them to eat'
b. Irene: (Him)$_{subj1}$ (carry)$_{V2}$ [him] to de jungle	**to**	(got op)$_{V2}$ fruits
'She carried him to the jungle	to	get some fruits up'

Washabaugh (1974, pp. 37-48) shows that, in Islander Creole, *fi* has a broader set of uses than introducing clauses of purpose or desire. He argues that clauses introduced with *fi* show a dynamic behavior, ample meanings, and they can be attached to different elements of the embedding clause, which explains its productivity for non-finite clauses. Among other uses of non-finite clauses in my data, *fi* was also used to express obligation: *you no **fi** tell lie* 'you are not supposed to lie. Lit. you are not to tell lies', to introduce complements of non-desiderative verbs: *Anansy decide **fi** mek one basket* 'Anansy decided to make a basket', and to introduce adjectival clauses: *Anansy decide fi mek one basket **fi** ketch fish* '… a basket to catch fish'. Washabaugh also offers convincing arguments of the complementizer status of *fi*, such as a presumed subject rising from the embedded to the embedding clause.

Examples of finite clauses with *fi, seh, and da/dat* are shown from 91 a through c. *Fi* was infrequently used to introduce finite clauses, but there were a few cases that suggest more clearly the complementizer status of *fi*. In Erin's example (91a), there is an explicit subject *ihm* 'he' inside the embedded clause domain. If we assume the subject raising from the embedded to the embedding clause stated by Washabaugh, then examples such as (91b) are supportive evidence of his statement given a few cases where, for some reason, the subject raising does not happen and, instead, the subject of the subordinate clause stays in its clausal domain.

Subordinate finite clauses with *fi/seh/da/dat/that* [Subj$_1$-V$_1$ ___ (Subj$_2$ - V$_2$)]

(91) a. Erin:	(No gyal)$_{subj1}$ (Ø)$_{V1}$ dong deh	**fi**	(ihm)$_{subj2}$ (dirt)$_{V2}$ de place
	(No girl was/went down there	because	he gets dirty the place)
b. Loraine:	(We)$_{subj1}$ (see)$_{V1}$	**seh**	(ihm)$_{subj2}$ (gat)$_{V2}$ all de flowaz
	(We see	that	he got all the flowers)
c. Thomas:	Di teaching dat we get out of it is	**dat**	all time […] you find people dat is smart
	(The lesson that we get from it is	that	every time you find people who is smart)

For finite clauses, however, *seh* was preferred. Loraine's example (91b) depicts, therefore, the most expected choice of complementizer (53.1%) for finite clauses. In her example, the subject of the embedded clause (*ihm* 'he, the rabbit') stands in its clausal domain. Some participants, especially the older adults, tended to use *da/dat* with the same function in similar contexts, as shown by Thomas' example (91c), probably because it more closely resembles the English *that,* with which they tended to align.

Furthermore, dative case is another of the multiple functions of *fi* (Washabaugh, 1974, p. 57). Here, *dative* includes goals, which usually surface as indirect objects in the syntax, but also beneficiaries and experiencers, which surface with a variety of syntactic functions (Haspelmath 2003, p. 213). Examples 92 a through c illustrate the competing use of both *fi* and *to* for dative case. Young adults used *fi* more frequently for this function, while its frequency decreased among the older adults in favor of *to*. Timothy (92a), a young adult participant, used *fi* to specify *the girlfriend* as the beneficiary and intended recipient of the flowers. Haley (92b), on the other hand, used *to* to express the recipient of the flowers. A possible topic of further examination is whether or not the verb and the complementizer imply some differences on meaning (e.g. movement). The evidence, however, suggests that these markers are mutually exchangeable, as shown with different uses by the same speaker in similar contexts (example 92c). Given that Georgianna (92c) is an older adult who declared proficiency in English, her first *to* might be a borrowing, but the transposable uses of these and other pieces of grammar that appear to be more or less conservative obscure any attempt to keep the languages as separate entities in daily speech. The compound perception of Creole and English in the perception experiment (see section 6.2.2.2) also suggests blurring boundaries between these languages for the participants.

***Fi/to* as dative [___ N]**

(92) a. Timothy:	I hafi staat […] go shop ahn buy flowaz	**fi**	ihm girlfriend
	'I/he have/has to start to go to a shop and buy flowers	for	his girlfriend'
b. Haley:	Ihm deliver it [the flowers]	**to**	ihm girlfriend
	'He delivered them	to	his girlfriend'
c. Georgianna:	Di bwayfriend rabit pick flowaz fi carry	**to**	de girlfriend rabit […]
	'De boyfriend rabbit picked flowers to bring	to	his girlfriend rabbit […]'
	Ihm pick upon five [flowers] fi ker	**fi**	di girlfriend
	'He picked up to five to bring	to	his girlfriend'

Finally, examples 93 a and b illustrate other distinguishing uses of *fi* and *to*. In example (93a), Rick is using *fi* as a possessive marker. The possessive marker *fi* helps block possible ambiguities, given the generalization of *wi* 'we' as possessive, subject, and direct object; for clarity, I coded these uses of *we* in the example (see section 7.2.2.1 for the generalization of *dem* as *they, them, their*). Bartens (2003, pp. 51-53) explains that *fi* is used as possessive after *dah* and it is optional for adjectival possessives (e.g. *(fi) wi muma* 'our mom'), but mandatory for nominal possessives (e.g. *fi wi* 'ours'). In my corpus, however, I only found 10 cases of the possessive marker *fi* (plus other tokens with relational functions), which are all adjectival, while only two are placed afer *dah*. Lastly, Karly's example (93b) shows a typical case of *to* as a directional preposition with a verb of movement. In this example, *to* indicates a returning movement of the subject (*dem* 'they') in the direction of the flower field, where one of the rabbits previously walked. As directional, *to* aligns with the English patterns and is used by young and older adults.

Other uses of *fi* and *to*

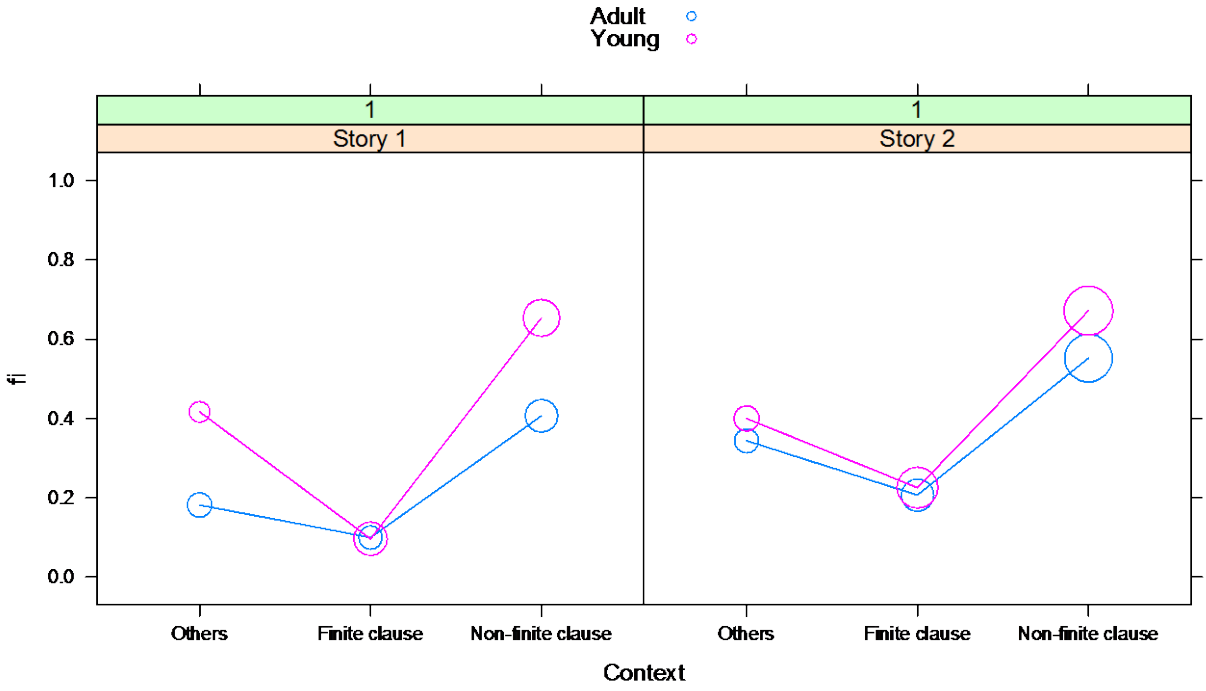
(93) a. Rick:	Whenever	**fi wi**	muma tell $wi_{(DO)}$ anything […] $wi_{(SUBJ)}$ most do it
	'Whenever	our	mom tells us anything […] we must do it'
b. Karly:	When dem come back	**to**	de field, de rest of flowaz was crying
	'When they went back	to	the field, the rest of flowers were crying'

In this section, I have shown that both Creole markers *fi* and *seh* are preferred as complementizers to introduce non-finite and finite embedded clauses, respectively. These forms compete with the less conservative choices and more English-like *for*, *to,* and *da/dat/that*. For dative case, *fi* competes with *to*, while these forms also specialize distinctive functions: *fi* as possessive marker and *to* as directional. Figure 41 pictures the contrasts of young and older

adults in these linguistic contexts across story 1 and story 2. Overall, the figure shows a higher use of *fi* in the second story (Anansy stories), suggesting one more time that speech tasks relying on local genres may trigger a spontaneous use of the language and a higher use of conservative features.

The figure also shows a contrast between young and older adults. While both age groups used *fi* at similar rates in the second story, the young group used it more frequently in the first story and across both tasks. This suggests that the older adults might have been more sensitive to some possible task effects. *Fi* was preferred for non-finite clauses and other cases by both groups, even though at a higher rank by the youngsters. Finally, the figure shows that *fi* was equally refused by both groups for finite clauses, in which other choices were most frequently used: *seh, da/dat, that*. In this particular context, however, the figure masks some differences given that it was drawn on the base of *fi* as application value. A check on the crosstabs disclosed these informative differences: of 129 tokens of the Creole marker *seh* in finite clauses, 88 (68.21%) belonged to the young group, while only 41 (31.78%) to the older group, as the latter used *da/dat* and *that* more frequently.

Figure 41. *Fi* by age group by linguistic context across stories



In all, the consistent and more frequent use of conservative Creole features *dem, deh, fi,* and *seh* by the young group is informative about their attitudes to the language. Although speech conservatism has been usually related to aging (Eckert, 1997, p. 152), this was not the case in the islands because the most specific Creole features (e.g. *dem, deh, fi, seh*) –which I have considered conservative of the Creole patterns– do not align with the ideologies of standardness (Milroy, 2000, pp. 63-69). On the contrary, the Anglo culture and the English language have been perceived as models in the islands for years (Dittmann, 1992, p. 103). Therefore, the older adult speech tends to align with the standard and more English-like features, while the more Creole specific features have been demoted as vernacular and attributed to the young generations (see the discussion of the ideology of adults as speakers of purer varieties in section 6.1.1.2). Thus, in the local ethos, the adult speech aligns with the features perceived as standard, while the young speech aligns with the features perceived as vernacular. This stigmatization of Creole features and Creole languages in general is commonplace in Creole contexts and it also not surprisingly happens in the islands (Alleyne, 1994, pp. 8-11).

The more active use of Creole features among the youngsters may be also a response to the perceived threat from Spanish and the language shift trends affecting the young generations. These young fluent Creole speakers appeared to be subject to a double social pressure: (1) the pressure to keep using Creole and differentiate from those who are shifting to Spanish, and (2) the pressure to move to the standard speech models of the older adults. It appears that this double pressure has played out in favor of retaining linguistic features perceived as vernacular but ethnically distinctive and construction of identities that depart from the older adult model (Eckert, 1997, p. 163). As all participants from this age group were born in or after 1985, this is also reflective of certain social activism in the islands from the eighties (see section 1.2.3).

An alternative explanation is differentials in terms of exposure, access, and awareness of the standard by age group (Eckert, 1997, p. 159). Thus, there may be more variation among the older adults because they have been more exposed to English through education and church, whereas the youngsters have had less exposure to it and so there is less available linguistic material to vary. Nevertheless, the attitudes of the youngsters may signal a transition from ideologies relying on English and the British heritage as cultural models toward more liberal ideologies relying on the Creole language and the local values to construct their specific identities.

7.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have analyzed linguistic data as possible evidence of EV for both Creole-shifting participants, with comparatively low EV, and fluent Creole speakers, with comparatively high EV. In the first part of the chapter, I analyzed some possible evidence of language loss among the Creole-shifting participants using the fluent speakers as a comparison group. Namely, I examined three issues among the Creole-shifting participants: (1) Creole reception skills, (2) Creole lexical knowledge, and (3) the use of Creole morphosyntactic features. First, the results of a perception task suggested a broad range of proficiency levels in this group: passive bilinguals who clearly understood Creole but do not speak it fluently, Spanish dominant bilinguals who use both Spanish and Creole but are more used to speak Spanish, and a few participants who are closer to a monolingual Spanish model. Second, the results of a picture-naming task pointed to a different type of lexical knowledge per group: greater, stronger, and categorical among the fluent speakers, but weaker and less rich among the Creole-shifting participants, as suggested by the dispersion of lexical choices and a proportion of lexical uncertainty in this group. Finally, the analysis of short utterances translated from Spanish into Creole indicated more use of Spanish among the Creole-shifting participants and a general lack of fine-grained morphosyntactic Creole features with specialized functions that fluent speakers master.

In the second part of the chapter, I analyzed some possible evidence of language maintenance and the retention of Creole features by fluent Creole speakers. Using a corpus of oral narratives, in this part I examined two issues: (1) Fluency and lexical differences between the groups and (2) the use of specific Creole features as possible index of Creole retention among the fluent Creole speakers. First, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the oral corpus disclosed substantial differences between the groups in fluency, sample size, and corpus traits. The fluent Creole speakers were significantly more fluent, displayed a more skillful performance of the stories, and a much lower proportion of Spanish words than the Creole-shifting participants. This suggested that the higher discourse demands of oral narrations (as compared to other speech tasks) were challenging for Creole-shifting participants who appeared to lack both the linguistic skills and the cultural knowledge to fulfill those demands.

Second, a statistical analysis disclosed consistent differences between young and older adult participants across the four most frequent Creole features in the corpus: *dem, deh, fi,* and

seh, as the young adults used them more frequently. These differences are explained as possible indices of pervasive local ideologies that align respectability and standardness with English and English-like features (e.g *they, them, -s, to, da/dat/that*), while demoting Creole and the most distinctive Creole features as vernacular. The older adult speech is taken as a model of English or a 'purer' Creole that closely aligns with these ideals. Among the young adults, the higher use of Creole features may be a departing response from this speech model, a reaction to the perceived threat from Spanish, and a difference on exposure and awareness of the standard. In some of the variables, there was a difference between the stories, as Anansy stories favored a higher use of Creole features than the stories elicited from a cartoon. Gender approached significance only in one of the variables and the island enclave was not a significant variable in none of the models.

8.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 presented the results on four different dimensions of the Creole EV: Objective EV, Subjective EV, Ideologies, and the Linguistic Evidence, respectively. In this chapter, I will discuss these findings and provide a synthetized overview of the research. This is the first study to systematically assess the EV of Creoles in contact with a dominant non-lexifier language (Spanish). I used an innovative and comprehensive approach that includes demographic data, the participants' emic viewpoint, and linguistic data, contributing to the soundness of the research and providing a balanced view of EV. With this approach, I provided extensive empirical evidence for EV, enabling a better understanding of how the Creoles, as low status languages, survive in these contexts. In this chapter, I revisit the research questions, summarize the main findings, and discuss their significance. I will also point out the contributions of this study, acknowledge its limitations, and discuss future research directions.

In the first question I asked, *"What is the objective EV of the Creole from the islands?"* Based on Census information (Dane, 2005, 2014), the results for this question indicated an outcome of language maintenance in Providencia and a language-shift trend in San Andrés. Being the major population in Providencia, Raizals from this island enjoy the benefits of having been relatively isolated from the strongest effects of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization on a large scale. Although Spanish is the language of administration and education and a second language for most of the islanders, Creole continues to be actively used in daily life and is transmitted at home. It appears that, if the current state of affairs holds, Creole will likely continue being vital, while Spanish is not likely to pose a significant threat. This depicts Providencia as a privileged enclave, a self-contained speech community that is ideal for language maintenance (Childs, Reaser, & Wolfram, 2003, p. 7), and is consistent with earlier predictions by Abouchaar et al (2002, pp. 78-81) that Providencian Creole would continue to survive.

The findings were very different for San Andrés. The Raizal community from this island has faced the strongest effects of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization on a large scale since the mid twentieth Century. Raizals have progressively become a demographic minority, lost part of their former territory, and mixed with the newcomers, while their earlier privileged access to economical and social resources has vanished. It appears that these and other factors have been unfavorable for language maintenance in this island, as indicated by a break in language transmission to a portion of the young generations.

These findings call into question the Ethnologue's (Simons & Fennig, 2017) classification of Islander Creole as vigorous. Namely, Creole can be considered vigorous in Providencia and among the older adults from both islands, but it is not vigorous all across the board. Even the most conservative scales indicate that this language is at least threatened in San Andrés, where the demographic evidence also showed a language shift trend among the young generations. Given that most of the Creole speakers live in this island (about 15,404 speakers), its comparison with Providencia (about 3,696 speakers) suggests no correlation between demographic size and language vitality (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014, p. 64). This appears to be an underlying assumption of vitality scales that assign lower scores to smaller groups (Simons & Fennig, 2017), (Campbell, L. et al. n.d.), (Crystal, 2000). In Providencia, the number of speakers falls bellow 5,000 and is four times smaller than in San Andrés, but a constellation of other factors makes it more vital in Providencia and diminish it in San Andrés. For a comparison, in Indonesia Ravindranath and Cohn (2014, p. 72) also showed that population size is not necessarily a good predictor of language vitality and that even a language with large numbers of speakers, such as Javanese, can be at risk under certain social conditions.

For the Indonesian Archipielago, Ravindranath and Cohn (2014, p. 73) suggested that the comparison of different speech communities is more useful than broad generalizations for the whole language community. In the Colombian Archipielago, the comparison of two island enclaves: San Andrés and Providencia, and two age groups: young and older adults, sheds light on the patterns of language transmission, sociolinguistic aspects, and identity issues. Specifically, the analysis of demographic trends yielded a language shift rate of 23.13% of Raizals who have failed to acquire Creole as their primary language in San Andrés (see section 4.1.3). The approximate lack of Creole transmission (13.9%) in 2005 suggests that the shift trend is increasing (see section 4.1.2). Given that these rates were observed in the young generations,

the new social order and the steady presence of Spanish pose a significant threat of the language shift process being increased in the future. In Providencia, on the other hand, the language shift rate was at 5.76% and there was a pattern of continous language transmission. These striking differences show not only that the distinction between speech communities is informative but also that each speech community faces different challenges to keep their language alive in the near future.

As pointed out by Ravindranath & Cohn (2014, p. 73) in their work, we lack predictive models on language endangerment that would allow stronger predictions about the future of these Creoles in their increasingly complex and dynamic multilingual contexts. Therefore, any claims made here in that regard are to be taken as suggestions rather than absolutes. The pattern of language shift process observed in San Andrés is the typical result of the expansion of major world languages (Spanish) threatening minority languages (Creole), whose speakers may be seeking the benefits of mastering the major language (Romaine, 2000, p. 50). It appears that the national integration of the islands as a geopolitically oriented process (rather than a socioculturally oriented one) (Fishman, 1968, p. 42) was an important factor in undermining the Raizal society and the Creole language through the standards of education, religion, and economic production imposed by the Colombian government in San Andrés (Albuquerque & Stinner, 1978, p. 173), as it has been the case in different places of the Caribbean, subject to different governments (Devonish, 2007, pp. 40-51).

Notwithstanding the different forms of resistance of the Raizal community, it seems likely that the language shift rate would increase among the young generations from San Andrés in the near future. Although it is hard to predict the rate of attrition, the fact that most of the Creole speakers are above the age 60 and most of those who only speak Spanish are below the age 60 suggests that the language shift rate may possibly increase in the next two generations (about 40 to 50 years). Given the diminishment of language transmission among Raizals who are not Creole speakers, their descendents are also unlikely to acquire the Creole language and there might be additional loses of potentially newborn speakers if exogamous marriage continues patterning a lack of language transmission. Thus, assuming that the lack of language transmission observed in 2005 (13.9%) keeps constant or nearly similar for each of the next two generations, one could reasonably expect the language shift rate (23.13%) doubling or nearly doubling by the end of the next fifty years (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3). However, this rate may

be speed up or slowed down depending on the linguistic attitudes, the strength of the awakening and resistance processes, and the institutional support to the Creole language.

In terms of documentation as framed on the documentation need scale (Campbell, L. et al. n.d. http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/about/), I have shown that Islander Creole can be considered well documented (81.8%), given the existence of a comprehensive grammar (O'Flynn, 1990), some dictionary documents (Navarro et al., n.d.; Mitchell & Morren, 2000), and a considerably large corpus. The scale results, however, cannot be taken as a given and are not necessarily reflective of the documentation needs of the community. Namely, the scale weights scientific materials higher (grammars) and language materials linguistically annotated, while it weights any other materials lower. Therefore, the scale does not capture well the Raizal activism in the production of authentic materials (written or oral) in their language. That is, pedagogical materials, musical productions, or compilation of poems or stories may have a more meaningful effect on Creole daily use than materials intended as metalinguistic knowledge of the language.

In all, this dissertation contributes to show that there is no single outcome of EV, but rather different trends of EV. More precisely, I have shown where the language is vital and where it is threatened. The contribution is grounded on the conception of language as an ethnic belonging (Fought, 2012, p. 283) and a polylectal arrangement of structures and meanings (Washabaugh, 1974, p. 17) that give room for contentious variation (Mufwene, 2001a, pp. 71-72, 76). Thus, the question for the objective EV implies other questions that gave precision to the inquiry, such as *Where the language is vital? With respect to what the language is vital?* or *In whose speakers' mouths the language is vital?* Although I used standardized scales to produce reliable and comparable results, I am in favor of considering both the social distribution of EV and the subjective perspectives of the individuals. Importantly, the ethnic identities and language ideologies play a crucial role on how EV unfolds for the individual participants. This concern for the individuals' perspectives was addressed in the second and third research questions.

In the second research question I asked, "*What is the subjective EV of the Creole from the Islands?"* Based on language use self-reports, I found that the patterns of language use reported by the participants are consistent with the predictions from the objective EV. Namely, Creole was reported as the most frequent language by the fluent Creole-speaking participants and, especially, by the older adults, while Spanish was reported as the most frequent language by the

Creole-shifting participants. Among the fluent Creole speakers, Creole was reported as the most frequent language of home, while decreasing in other domains. Finally, both Creole and Spanish were reported as frequent languages with similar proportions among young adults, for interactions with neighbors and friends. These patterns have suggested that, although Creole holds at home –the most critical domain for language transmission, it diminishes among the youngsters and in social domains other than home. This is a potential effect of the strengthening presence of Spanish in the geographical space, social networking, and neighboring, especially in San Andrés. Although these patterns are expected responses to the historical processes of the islands and the increasing demands of bilingualism, they also showed where these effects have been stronger: San Andrés and the young generations.

I investigated the participants' subjective perspectives using an in-depth qualitative EV interview with a quantitative component. The quantitative component yielded EV scores that were consistent with the objective EV: fluent Creole speakers from Providencia had the highest subjective EV scores (2.42), those from San Andrés had positive but significantly lower scores (2.20), and the Creole-shifting participants from both islands had the lowest scores (1.90). Among different dimensions examined, the dimension of ethnic identification and social networks was critical for the differences between the groups. The fluent Creole speakers from both islands displayed a positive identification with the Raizal group, but the social networks were more densely populated by Raizals in Providencia. Thus, marriage, friendship, neighboring, and colleagueship were profusely endogenous in Providencia, which makes the group highly cohesive and maximizes the opportunities for Creole to be used.

On the other hand, the growing presence of Spanish speakers in San Andrés has made the participants' networks increasingly mixed (endo- and exogenous) and apparently fostered Spanish. For example, in San Andrés, Spanish was perceived as a must to compete in the job market. The possible effects of Spanish networking may have been stronger among the Creole-shifting participants. Given that most of these participants have mixed family ties (Raizal and non-Raizal), live in Hispanic dominant neighborhoods, and/or have bridged more intensively with Spanish speakers, they also showed a diminished use of the language and a weaker identification with the ethnic group. These are some of the most visible effects of the geopolitical integration of the islands to Colombia, which has disregarded their cultural background, ethnic

identities, and social networks both within the Raizal community and with neighboring islands (Albuquerque & Stinner, 1978, p. 173).

Given that the examination of these identity issues was a fundamental part of the methods (see chapter 3), an important contribution of this dissertation is showing with empirical evidence that ethnic identities are powerful forces driving language maintenance and language shift. I have shown that the sociohistorical processes that Raizals have faced contribute to their identities differently. While those who are shifting to Spanish displayed a weaker identification with the Raizal ethnic group, fluent Creole speakers offer active resistance to the social and language shift processes and strengthen their identities, ethnic boundaries, and social networks. Thus, as language vitality and the demographic size of the islands show no relevant connection (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014, p. 64), how the individuals elaborate their ethnic identities and how these identities are framed on a system of social networks and language practices are more fundamental questions.

Social discrimination and linguistic rights was another critical dimension for the differences between the groups on the subjective EV. Specifically, there were more perceptions of social discrimination and lack of social and linguistic rights in San Andrés than in Providencia. This means that the participants from San Andrés perceived the community and the language as more vulnerable to the interethnic relationships than those from Providencia. The narratives of discrimination from San Andrés disclosed specific discrimination episodes both racially (e.g. "*¡esos negros, que no vayan a trabajar acá!*" (those blacks don't come to work here!)) and linguistically motivated (e.g. "*In the School XY, they used to discriminate us for speaking Creole*"). On the contrary, the participants from Providencia did not display a comparable perception of discrimination but highlighted some social benefits/rights they enjoyed as a group. For Creole-shifting participants, linguistic and social rights were less relevant given that Creole was not their primary language, and so they displayed more neutral positions regarding this matter.

These findings are significant to show that, beyond the demographic trends studied on the objective EV, the outputs of EV are grounded on the individual subjective perceptions. Importantly, these perceptions are meaningful evidence of what may become socially significant in a language shift process. For example, the perceptions of unfairness, discrimination, and lack of social and linguistic rights and the perception of increasingly mixed networks are, in part, the

result of social structures imposed, especially since the Spanish incursion (see section 1.2.1.3) and the geopolitical integration of the islands to the Colombian state (Albuquerque & Stinner, 1978, p. 173).

These perceptions of outrage, unfairness, and discrimination are not surprising but commonplace in Creole communities, which historically have been marginalized and subjected to intense linguistic stigmatization (Alleyne, 1994, pp. 8-11). For example, Snow (2002) reports a socially unbalanced interaction between Spanish and Creole and a language shift trend in Nicaragua. Schwegler (1996: 38-39) documents practices of linguistic discrimination that Palenquero speakers have suffered. He shows that these practices have a perceptible effect both in the avoidance of Creole speech by older speakers (in the presence of foreigners) and in language shift processes among the younger generations (Schwegler, 1996, pp. 38-39, 40, 42). Similarly, I found older adults leaning toward an Anglicized Creole variety and a language shift trend among the young generations. These findings suggest that the methodological tools implemented in this dissertation can be extended to the investigation of vitality in other Creole communities that have been subjected to similar hegemonical policies, as in Palenque, or those that are in contact with a non-lexifier official state language, as in Nicaragua.

Following Hoffman and Walker (2010), this dissertation also contributes in showing that an in-depth qualitative EV interview in conversational style was instrumental to indirectly study the subjective EV as a function of the individual orientation to the ethnic group. Thus, instead of having the participants directly rating the languages and the ethnic groups in a Likert scale –as in the traditional SEVQ (Bourhis et al., 1981), the subjective EV was analyzed as a cluster of perceptions and opinions that relate to the language but also include related categories, such as social networks, family composition, the use of languages in informal and formal activities, and the perception of discrimination and social and linguistic rights. These perceptions become more crucial if tied to underlying ideologies, which were addressed in the third research question.

In the third research question I asked, "*What are the underlying ideologies behind the EV of the Creole from the Islands?*" Using extensive discourse evidence from the qualitative EV interview and a series of group discussions in both islands, I found an intricate array of language ideologies that are arguably reflective of EV. Given that different ideologies belonged to distinctive perspectives on language and ethnicity, some of the coexisting ideologies are contradictory to each other. For example, I found ideologies of pride and ethnic authenticity on

Creole as an ethnic belonging (e.g. *When we speak Spanish or ina English, we sound fake; The Creole is perfect*) coexisting with ideologies of linguistic versatility (e.g. *If you're speaking fast, you switch*) and the pervasive ideologies of Creole as a stigmatized variety (e.g. *The Creole is not from here*). Furthermore, I have shown that these distinctive perspectives make ideologies contentious spaces for the values of correctness (e.g. *Come here! or Come ya!*), speech purity (e.g. *When I speak to an adult person, the Creole I speak is much purer*), respectability (e.g. *The Creole from Providencia is more respectable*), and the assignment of a written or an oral form (e.g. *I speak Creole but write English*).

Islander Creole and the most specific Creole features (e.g. *Come ya!*) were often stigmatized as vernacular and aligned with the African heritage, San Andrés, and the youngsters. On the other hand, an Anglicized Creole and the more English-like features (e.g. *Come here!*) were praised and aligned with the British legacy, Providencia, and the elders. These ideologies are informative of nuanced language identities in multilingual contexts and, especially, in Creole-language situations, in which Creole languages have been stigmatized as non-standard (Alleyne 1994, pp. 8-11) and lacking of a grammar (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 63). Although there is no obvious connection between these ideologies and the EV outputs, the ideologies of ethnic authenticity may foster Creole retention among the youngsters, as a force to resist both the language-shift trend and the adult models of normative speech (Eckert, 1997, p. 163). On the other hand, the ideological association of Creole to English via historical legacy or formal similarity may favor language maintenance by relating the adults' speech to a prestigious model.

Furthermore, I also showed a consistent alignment of the subjective EV, the ideologies of interethnic discordance, and EV modes per island. The fluent Creole speakers from Providencia, who had the highest EV scores, were operating in a cool EV mode and displayed a general perception of welfare and confidence in the current state of affairs. The cool EV mode indicated the absence of a significant concern for the local language and culture and no overt perception of interethnic discordance with Continental Colombians. Those from San Andrés, who had positive but comparatively lower EV scores, were operating in a hot EV mode and displayed some awareness of their language and culture being lost. Under the hot EV mode, the participants displayed an intensive emotional attachment to the language and ethnic group, while emphasizing on interethnic discordance with continental Colombians. Their stereotypical

descriptions of Spanish speakers living in the island profiled them as troublemakers, noisy, poor, and prone to bad habits, connotations that are synthetized by the pejorative terms *paña* and *champetudo*, the latter applied especially to Colombians from the Colombian Atlantic Coast. The participants' narratives indicated some resentment to the out-group due to the imposition of social structures, the absorption of social and economical resources, and some exclusion from the job market (Vollmer, 1997, p. 63). As predicted by Ehala's model (2011, p. 193), this hot EV mode is likely a reaction to the perceived risk that Spanish and Spanish speakers represent and a call to ethnic solidarity, the protection of local values, and the strengthening of ethnic boundaries.

On the other hand, the analysis of language shift motivations among the Creole-shifting participants disclosed a cluster of communicative, economical, and social identity-related factors to shift. Among different motivations, I found the instrumentalization of languages for social ends (professionalization), the perception of low communicative demands for Creole in Hispanic dominant networks, the perception of a low social status of the Creole language, the fear to be scorned, and the decision to keep the Creole language private. In general, these motivations entail a rational calculation of risks, costs, and benefits and suggest a possible transition to a cold EV mode (Ehala, 2011, pp. 192-193), along with some emotional disengagement from the language and the ethnic group. The systematic account of these issues of ethnic identity as an explanation for language shift is an important methodological contribution of this study.

Furthermore, the different ideologies examined promote the ideological perception of the languages and their speakers. Using a qualitative analysis, I found prototypical perceptions of speakers and their speech, depending on whether or not the speaker was perceived as an insider. Those perceived as insiders usually triggered a series of positive free associations if speaking Creole, but less positive if speaking another language and, especially negative, if speaking Spanish. Among those perceived as outsiders, Spanish speakers received the most negative associations, which is consistent with the ideologies of interethnic discordance, especially in San Andrés.

Using a quantitative analysis, I found that, in San Andres, the speech was perceived differently as a function of the input language. Spanish stimulus received the lowest rates, suggesting a negative attitude toward Spanish and Spanish speakers, which is consistent with the use of pejorative terms to refer to them. This attitude is grounded on the ideologies of interethnic

discordance and the hot EV mode. On the other hand, both English and Creole received higher rates, which is consistent with the coexistence of ideologies of ethnic authenticity for the Creole language and those of standardness (Alleyne, 1994, pp. 8-11), purity, and respectability (Wilson, 1973, p. 114) for English or a refined or standardized Creole.

Overall, this dissertation contributes with copious empirical evidence, an innovative approach to EV, and a comprehensive account of the ideologies grounding the subjective EV. Namely, the subjective EV is responsive to the circulating ideologies of language, the perception of interethnic relationships, and the perception of languages and speakers. For example, Deborah and Marilyn's complain on Raizals speaking a language other than Creole (*When we speak Spanish or ina English, we sound fake!*) is not an isolated statement. They are voicing an ideology of Creole as the authentic language of Raizals.

Given that the evidence was built on the participants' perspectives, using their own categories, and giving them voice, the results are meaningful and contextually relevant. In brief, I have shown that the members of the ethnic group are active agents of the outcomes of EV, for example by operating on a hot EV mode to strengthen ethnic cohesion and retain their language (Kroskrity, 1998, pp. 104-105). I also demonstrated that a thoughtful analysis of the emic viewpoint is a significant improvement to the EV theory (Mc-Entee-Atalianis, 2011, p. 152).

In the fourth research question I asked, "*What linguistic evidence may cue +/- EV in production data of Creole speakers?*" Using a series of speech tasks, I found compelling linguistic evidence of different EV levels. The results of a simplified perception task suggested different levels of proficiency among Creole-shifting participants: passive bilinguals, Spanish dominant bilinguals, and Spanish monolinguals. The results of a picture-naming task indicated a different type of lexical knowledge per group. Similar to the discussion of vertical variation in second language learning (Adamson & Regan, 1991; Kanwit, 2017), I pointed out categorical lexical knowledge and less variation in well-formed mature grammars of fluent Creole speakers, and more variation and scattered and weaker lexical knowledge in 'less robust' grammars of Creole-shifting participants. Among these participants, there was also a lack of fine-grained morphosyntactic Creole features that fluent speakers used for specialized functions or meanings.

In a corpus of oral stories, I disclosed additional differences of fluency, lexical knowledge, and linguistic performance per EV group. Specifically, the fluent Creole speakers were significantly more fluent than the Creole-shifting participants, displayed a more skillful

performance of the stories, and a much lower proportion of Spanish words (<3%) than those used by Creole-shifting participants, both as word types (25.45%) and as word-tokens (15.84%). The higher discourse demands of oral narrations were challenging for the actual skills of some Creole-shifting participants and suggested some possible linguistic effects of a low EV. In general, these participants showed some transfer effects from the dominant language –Spanish (Winford, 2012, pp. 170-172), some vocabulary gaps, a lack of fine-grained Creole grammar features, and little cultural knowledge to fulfill these discourse demands.

Finally, a quantitative analysis of the corpus from the fluent Creole speakers disclosed some differences between young and older adult participants from both islands in the use of Creole markers: *dem, deh, fi,* and *seh*. The young adults used these features more frequently than the older adults, who alternatively used *–s, they, them, there/thiere, for, to, da/dat* and *that* with similar frequencies. These differences were explained as possible indices of local ideologies that align adult speech with values of purity, respectability, and standardness as noted above and English and English-like features (e.g *they, them, -s, to, da/dat/that*), while demoting Creole and the most distinctive Creole features (e.g. *dem, deh, fi,* and *seh*) as vernacular and proper of the youngsters. This relates to the persisting praising of British heritage, Anglo culture, and the English language as models in the islands (Dittmann, 1992, p. 103). It was also specifically consistent with the ideology expressed in the statement *When I speak to an old adult person, the Creole I speak is much purer*, representing the elders as speech models and retainers of the English legacy.

As noted earlier, the higher use of conservative Creole features (*dem, deh, fi,* and *seh*) among the young adults may be a response of resistance to the adult speech model, a reaction to the perceived threat from Spanish, and some possible differences on exposure and awareness of the standard. Although these features have been stigmatized as vernacular, they also have a cohesive function among the youngsters, they may be constructive of their own identities, and maximize ethnolinguistic distinctiveness (that is, EV) for their speakers. I have suggested that this contested response to the Spanish trend and the adult speech models (Eckert, 1997, p. 163) may have played in favor of retaining Creole features. If so, the vernacular and the speech of fluent Creole speakers who resist the language shift trend may be a key component for Creole retention (+EV) and for a possible transition to ideologies of authenticity that rely on local values.

In answering the fourth question, this dissertation has made a three-way contribution to the field. First, it provides empirical evidence of the young fluent Creole speakers as agents of retention of the Creole features that are more distinctive from the English model. Given that the Spanish threat and the shifting process more directly concerns the young generations, their active use of Creole features is likely an indication of certain linguistic activism and a possible awakening from the eighties (Dittmann, 1992, pp. 30, 45-46); this does not mean that older adults do not maintain the language, but that fluent young speakers displayed an active position.

Second, there were significant differences in both corpus size and the use of conservative Creole features between Anansy stories (story 2) and Cartoon narrations (story 1). These results indicate that tasks relying on the local genre (e.g. Anansy stories) were more productive and engaging for the participants, and more likely to approach speakers' natural discourse (Gooden, 2008), especially in contexts of intense stigmatization, such as the Creole contexts. In general, this also connects to the importance of the emic viewpoint and the use of local categories as I also did in other parts of the research.

Third, an attempt to bridge with psycholinguistic and second language studies was constructive to avoid sharp claims and suggests that bridging these traditions must continue, especially when approaching complex phenomena at the community and individual levels (Köpke & Schmid, 2004). For example, the revelations of different links between linguistic variation across Creole EV levels and similar processes observed in second language learning settings (Adamson & Regan 1991; Kanwit, 2017) are an important contribution that shelds light for further research.

The comprehensive, innovative, and heterodox approach employed in the assessment of the EV of Islander Creole is a theoretical and methodological contribution to the field. Theoretically, the incorporation of integrative perspectives (e.g. discourse analysis) into the EV frame and the analysis of language ideologies (Woolard, 1992, 1998; Kroskrity, 2004), the narratives of interethnic discordance (Ehala & Zabrodskaja, 2011), EV modes (Ehala, 2011), and language shift motivations (Karan, 2011) provided the basis for a deeper understanding of the subjective EV. I showed that the combination of these different approaches into the EV theory is a significant theoretical refinement to the assessment of EV as a multidimensional problem that goes beyond demographic tendencies and numerical measures. Namely, this pioneering framework provided accute insights into the emic viewpoint of the participants and the complex

nature of their interethnic relationships. Crucially, the participants were understood as agents of dynamic social processes of resistance, producers of ethnic distinctiveness, and emotionally attached to their language and culture in different degrees. Their voices were also integrated as critical components of the analysis and findings of the study.

Methodologically, the combination of a variety of indirect strategies of data collection, as recommended by De Vries (1992), was advantageous to approach EV as a multidimensional problem. For example, the contrast of archival research and census information with demographic surveys showed the impact of the demographic trends on the declared use of Creole and Spanish by the participants. The implementation of the qualitative EV interview was instrumental to enrich the subjective EV based on speakers' individual perceptions of the social context and interethnic relationships. The discussion groups, on the other hand, provided a novel window into the ideologies of language and interethnic discordance in a participatory framework. It also revealed how different and contradictory ideologies of both ethnic authenticity and linguistic stigmatization circulate and are intricately nested in daily life of Creole speakers. The matched guise study showed with greater precision the consistency of these ideologies with the perception of languages and speakers. Finally, the speech tasks disclosed striking linguistic evidence of the ideological orientation of the speakers to the ethnic group. For example, the use of more Anglicized Creole variants among the older adults is consistent with the ideologies of adults as speech models in the communities. This contrasts with the use of more conservative features among young fluent Creole speakers, who appear to offer some resistance to the language shift trends and the adult speech models through use of these features.

No previous study has made use of such variety of methodological tools. Hence, this dissertation study makes a fine methodological contribution, which may be applied in similar situations of Creoles in contact with/without a dominant lexifier language and in wider language contact situations. This methodological contribution is substantitated with a rich and large body of empirical evidence that is added to the burgeoning body of sociolinguistic studies of Creole languages in multilingual contexts (Carlin et al, 2014).

8.1 LIMITATIONS

I have pointed out some limitations of this research study through the text as a way to constrain the scope of my statements and limit rash generalizations. In this section, I will summarize some of these limitations and set them in a wider perspective. There are both theoretical and methodological limitations. The most important theoretical limitation is the synchronic nature of this study. I collected the data in two different time periods in 2015 and 2016. Although these data are arguably representative of the island population from two different age groups, they are only a tiny sample of the Creole language in time. Languages are diachronic entities and EV is also a historical process. Therefore, this study does not capture all the complexities of the language and EV across time and, instead, gathered a small snapshot of them. Namely, there may be some linguistic change that is not captured in this study and the differences between young and older adults may relate to some of these linguistic changes.

Secondly, there is little theoretical knowledge of EV built on evidence from minority languages that are not in imminent risk in their locales. This is because the EV theory has been applied mainly to the study of indigenous languages in critical conditions regarding survival or in migration cases of speakers who progressively abandon their native languages. In other words, we know more about how languages die than about how languages survive. The gap is important because there are 4,747 minority languages (71% of the living languages of the world) that do not appear to be at critical risk, as they have between 1,000 and 1,000,000 speakers (cf. Simmons & Fennig, 2017). Although language ideologies, interethnic discordance, EV modes, and language shift motivations are important theoretical refinements to the study of EV, the EV theory needs more development, in particular in the area of these surviving minority languages. That is, we need to know more about why and how minority languages are surviving.

On methodological limitations, the most important one is the lack of ethnographic data that might address the actual use of the Creole language in daily life. The study was oriented to collecting evidence of the objective and the subjective EV on the base of macro-demographic information and language corpus (for the objective EV) and the participants' perspectives/ opinions (for the subjective EV), with additional insights on linguistic data from production (controlled) tasks. Thus, the inclusion of ethnographic observations was beyond the scope of this dissertation and the estimates of language use were based on the participants' self-reports.

Although self-reports are usually practical and trustable tools (Karan, 2011, p. 144), the collection of micro-ethnographic data would give more precision to the estimates without the concern for language use being under or over-reported.

There are also limitations regarding the methodological instruments used. Among other issues of the match guise technique, I have pointed out the problem of artificiality, as the participants listened to the same story over and over again (see section 3.2.2.2). Although my participants enjoyed the task by pointing out some differences between the speakers and small differences on the story-versions, that experimental situation is unlikely to happen in daily life. Similarly, the picture-naming task may resemble a school situation (or reading with a child), but it is uncommon in adulthood and does not represent the natural situations in which words are retrieved. The translation task, on the other hand, might have brought additional problems due to the simultaneous activation of two different languages. Although the translations were not problematic for fluent Creole speakers, it might be that Creole-shifting speakers, who are less skilled in Creole, were more sensitive to some possible task effects (e.g. a stronger interference from Spanish) (Köpke & Schmid, 2004, p. 27).

In all, no individual technique can be free of error, but each specific technique had its advantages. For example, the story corpus was instrumental to contrast the more or less copious use of Creole features, but translation tasks were useful to contrast certain linguistic structures that do not surface copiously in the story corpus. The open-ended perception task was instrumental to get free associations to languages and speakers, but the matched guise technique gave precision. Moreover, the oral stories and especially Anansy stories appeared to have approached better the natural discourse, even though any possible avoidance of certain Creole structures remains unseen (Schmid, 2004, p. 251). Overall, it is the appropriate combination of these techniques what contributes to the general soundness of the study and a balanced view of EV.

Finally, there are analytical limitations too. For example, logistic regression and mixed effects models require each dependent variable be entered independently. This is particularly important for linguistic variables, as the independent linguistic factors constraining each dependent variable are not necessarily the same; that is, each dependent variable has its own linguistic constraints and these constraints need to be accounted for. However, it may also provide a fragmentary view of the data, while the researcher must link the varied results. I

provided a contextualized perspective of some linguistic features in the general description of the participants' receptions skills (see section 7.1.1), lexical knowledge (see section 7.1.2) and the analysis of tense markers in a Creole story (see secttion 7.1.3.4).

8.2 FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Both the dissertation results and its limitations inform some possible directions for future research. First, to gain some perspective of EV over time, it is important to develop a study of linguistic change. A possible avenue for this would be the comparison of two or three different samples of the language from two or three different time periods. Such a study may regard specific linguistic features that may be crucial for the understanding of EV, such as collective *dem,* progressive *deh,* complementizers *fi* and *seh*, copula choices, tense marker choices, and futurity expressions, among others. One possibility is finding older recordings of Creole speakers. The output would probably help to answer whether there is a decline or a surge of Creole features (+/-EV) or a series of language changes or both.

Secondly, the analysis of linguistic features in chapter 7 gave a consistent pattern of differences between young and older adults. The division of age groups using the year of 1985 as a threshold was motivated in the reorientation of linguistic and educational policies in Colombia since the eighties and especially since the National Constitution of 1991. Indeed, there were some changes both in education and in general policies toward the island, such as some space for bilingual programs, the acknowledgment of ethnic and linguistic rights (at least, in paper), and the protection of the islands from uncontrolled immigration and urbanization (see sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.5.2). Although the attitudes of my young participants might be reflective of some of these social changes (e.g. less perceptions of discrimination, less stigmatization of Creole) and they may relate to a larger use of Creole features, the division is gross. A comprehensive study including more sophisticated methods (e.g. trend or panel studies) to account for age-grading (Sankoff, 2006) and a fine-tuned age variable (continuous) might be informative on the use of Creole features across age, for example including a few participants from each year of birth from 1940 up to 2000 or from each decade.

Furthermore, a detailed analysis of linguistic features in their discourse context (the narratives, in this case) is needed to better understand the higher discourse constraints regulating their use (Gooden, 2008). A discourse analysis of this nature may inquire, for example, to what extent some discourse aspects, such as the narrative structure (Bardovi-Harlig, 1995), may be affected by different EV levels. It may also disclose different narrative profiles per group and some possible variation related to social and pragmatic features (Hopper, 1982). On Creole languages, the studies of Hackert (2004) in Bahamian Creole and Gooden (2002, 2008) in Belizian Creole are examplar of this type of discourse analysis.

Similarly, an ethnographic study on daily uses of Creole across different situations is also needed. In this particular case, the ethnographic observations of a local ethnographer or a group of local ethnographers would be ideal, as the situations observed would be arguably more natural. Moreover, a longitudinal study of the practices of language transmission at home, for example with young children aging 0 to 7, would be informative for EV. Dittmann (1992, pp. 127-147) has attempted to implement participant methodologies using the linguistic diary with her participants. Although this has met resistance as the participants are unlikely to add new tasks to their daily duties, innovative ways of collecting data by local researchers are needed.

Finally, a comprehensive account of Caribbean Creoles as a whole is needed. Creoles from different locales are considered different unless the historical evidence shows otherwise. However, there is a sense of cultural and linguistic congruency in Caribbean societies. For example, with respect to Colón and Bocas del Toro, Panamá; and Bluefields and Corn Islands, Nicaragua, my participants said, “we are one nation divided by three different countries” and many of them intuitively declare to speak the same language with “just small differences.” This sense of cultural and linguistic congruency needs to be addressed. A study of this nature may compare, for example, the sociolinguistic situation and some linguistic features of Islander Creole and other Caribbean English Creoles, such as Lemonese in Costa Rica, Bastimentos in Panama, and the Creole from Bluefields, Nicaragua. These Creoles are all in contact with Spanish as an official state language that is not their lexifier (Snow, 2000). Given the striking similarities between these Creoles and their social situations, some theoretical and methodological tools of this dissertation may be implemented in such a comparative study.

8.3 CONCLUSION

This dissertation has answered four different research questions. For the first research question about the Objective EV on the islands, there is an outcome of language maintenance in Providencia and a language shift trend in San Andrés. For the second research question about the Subjective EV, the participants' perceptions yielded different EV scores for each group: the highest for fluent speakers from Providencia, positive but lower for fluent speakers from San Andrés, and the lowest for Creole-shifting participants from both islands. These scores related mainly to different levels of language use, social networks, and perceptions of social discrimination and rights. For the third research question about the underlying ideologies of EV, I found ideologies of both ethnic authenticity and stigmatization of the Creole language. Given distinctive sociohistorical factors, there were some ideologies of interethnic discordance and a hot EV mode in San Andrés, but a cool EV mode and no interethnic discordance in Providencia. Language shift motivations of Creole-shifting participants suggested the instrumentalization of languages, some emotional disengagement from the group, and a possible transition to a cold EV mode. For the fourth research question about the linguistic evidence of EV, the Creole-shifting participants displayed less lexical knowledge, less fluency, more use of Spanish, and a lack of Creole fine-grained features, as compared to fluent speakers. Among fluent speakers, the young adults used more frequently the most distinctive Creole features, probably as a response of resistance to the language shift trend and the speech models from the older adults.

Overall, if EV is "what makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308), Islander Creole certainly shows signs of vitality, as it is actively used by fluent Creole speakers as a sign of ethnic distinctiveness. However, it is not equally distinctive and not equally vital for all. It also shows diminishing signs that undermine its vitality, especially among the young generations and for the near future in San Andrés.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Date: _____ / _____ / _____ # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____

Name: _____

Place of birth: _____ DOB: ____ / _____ / _____

Married: _____ Single: _____ Other: _____ Sex: F: _____ M: _____

Occupation: _____

Address: _____

Neighborhood/location: _____

Email: _____ Phone number: _____

1. Have you ever lived outside the islands?

   Yes ____ No ____
   Where _____ When _____
   How long was your stay in that place? _____

2. Ethnic affiliation. Do you consider yourself as… [mark all applicable]?

Raizal _____ Islander _____ Caribbean _____ Colombian _____
Why? _____

3. Educational background:

Level	**Name of last school attended**	**Completed (Y/N)**
Elementary		
Secondary and/or HS		
University		

4. What are the languages you speak?

5. How often do you speak the languages at the given places or with the given people listed below? Rate from 1 to 3 how frequently you use the languages in each space and/or with each person, in which 1 means the most frequent and 3 means the least frequent.

	Creole	**English**	**Spanish**	
You speak…				at school/work
You speak…				at home
You speak…				at a primary health center or hospital
You speak…				at administrative offices
You speak…				with tourists
You speak…				with your parents
You speak…				with your siblings
You speak…				with your daughters and sons
You speak…				with other family members (e.g. cousins, uncles)
You speak…				with your friends
You speak…				with your neighbors
You speak…				with people from the islands
You speak…				with Colombian people
You speak…				with foreigners

6. Would you want to enroll in further research steps for this research study?

Yes _____ No _____ *If yes, participants will be provided with consent script

APPENDIX B

PRE-SCORED EV INTERVIEW

University of Pittsburgh

Pre-scored Ethnolinguistic Vitality Interview

Date: _____/_____/_____ # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____

Name: _____

Ethnic orientation scale: 3 = Strongest orientation to Creole, 2 = Mixed, 1 = Weakest orientation to Creole

Questions assessed in each dimension

A. ETHNIC…	B. LANGUAGE	C. FAMILY	D. BELIEFS	E. RIGHTS
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 21	9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17	16a, 16b, 16c, 16d	18, 19, 20	22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32

These questions were presented to the participants in a different order in order to avoid the influence of the answers to some questions on the answers to other questions.

A. ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION & SOCIAL NETWORKS

1. Do you consider yourself as… [mark all applicable]?

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __1__ Colombian __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

1.1. Have you ever traveled to any other place in the Caribbean?

Where?

When?

1.2. Have you ever traveled to Colombian mainland?

Where?

When?

2. Who are most of your friends?

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __1__ Colombian __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

2.1. How frequently you interact with your friends?

2.2. What do you usually do with your friends?

University of Pittsburgh

Pre-scored Ethnolinguistic Vitality Interview

3. Who are most of your neighbors?

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __1__ Colombian __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

3.1. Do you share time, activities, or leisure time with your neighbors?

3.2. What is your general opinion about your neighbors?

4. Who are most of the people you work with?

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __1__ Colombian __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____.

Possible follow-up questions

4.1. Do you share time with your work pairs outside the workplace?

4.2. What is your general opinion about your work pairs?

5. When you were growing up, who were most of the kids in your school?

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __1__ Colombian __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____.

Possible follow-up questions

5.1. Were you allowed to speak Creole?

5.2. There was any kind of bilingual program in your school?

6. Who are most of the inhabitants of the island?

Raizal __3__ Caribbean __2__ Colombian __1__ Foreigner __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

6.1. Are all populations mixed elsewhere in the island?

6.2. Are population clustered in particular sectors of the island?

6.3. What are the places where you definitely would not like to live?

7. Are people migrating into the island? (No = 3; Yes = 1 – 2)

Caribbeans __2__ Colombians __1__ Foreigners __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

7.1. Has the immigration of Colombians incremented in the last years? How long ago? Why?

7.2. Has the immigration of foreigners incremented in the last years? How long ago? Why?

7.3. What is the overall impact of the tourism industry on the Island? On Raizal people?

8. Are people emigrating from the island?

Yes _1-2_ No __3__

Where: Colombia mainland ___1__ Caribbean __2___ Elsewhere __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

8.1. Have you ever considered emigrating from the island?

8.2. What do you think about people who have emigrated from the island?

University of Pittsburgh
Pre-scored Ethnolinguistic Vitality Interview

B. LANGUAGE

9. Do you speak the following languages?

	Yes	No	Some/a little
Creole	3	1	2
English	2	1	2
Spanish	1	3	2

Score: ____

10. Where did you learn these languages?

	Home	School	Somewhere else
Creole	3	1	1
English	2	3	3
Spanish	1	3	3

Score: ____

11. How well do you speak these languages?

	Proficient (advanced, native, mastered)	Independent (intermediate, functional)	Basic (elementary, scarce, limited)
Creole	3	1	1
English	2	3	3
Spanish	1	3	3

Score: ____

12. How often do you speak these languages?

	Every time or almost every time	Sometimes, frequently	Never or rarely
Creole	3	2	1
English	2	3	3
Spanish	1	3	3

Score: ____

13. What language(s) do you teach your daughters/sons at home? (Would you (if no having children yet)?)

Creole __3__ English __1__ Spanish __1___ Two or more above __1-2_

Why _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

13.1. Do you think all families do the same?

13.2. Do your husband/wife help to teach your kids this/these language(s)?

13.3. Do teenagers value the language they learnt at home?

14. What is the language that helps the most to succeed in the island?

Creole __3__ English __1__ Spanish __1__ Two or more above: _1-2__

Score: _____

Possible follow-up questions

14.1. Has this situation been the same every time?

14.2. Is there any place where some skills in Creole are required to get a job?

15. What language(s) do you prefer to speak in the following situations?

	Creole	English	Spanish	Two or more
In a party	3	1	1	1-2
In the church	3	1	1	1-2
In the school	3	1	1	1-2
When playing	3	1	1	1-2
When talking to your partner	3	1	1	1-2
When talking about something personal	3	1	1	1-2
When you are angry	3	1	1	1-2
When restraining your children	3	1	1	1-2
When doing homework	3	1	1	1-2
When speaking to grandparents	3	1	1	1-2
When doing business	3	1	1	1-2

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

15.1. Does the language chosen make a difference in the given situation?

15.2. Does everyone follow more or less the same rules/principles?

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C. FAMILY

16. What are the ethnic affiliation, birth's place, living place, and language spoken by the following members of your family?

	Birth's place Local=3 Caribbean=2 Continental=1	Living place Traditional=3 Hispanic=1	Ethnic affiliation Raizal/Islander=3 Caribbean = 2 Continental = 1	Languages spoken C=3; E/S=1 C+X=2	Other
Father					
Mother					
Maternal grandparents Parental grandparents					
Siblings					
Daughters					
Sons					
Uncles					
Aunts					
Cousins Partner (wife/husband/boyfriend/girlfriend)					

Score _____ _____ _____ _____ ___

Possible follow-up questions

16.1. Has your family extended through the whole island?

16.2. Has your family extended through both San Andrés and Providencia island?

16.3. Does any of the island make a difference with respect to the status, tradition, or honor of the family?

16.4. Does the family want to be unmixed, homogenous, or affiliated to a particular heritage?

16.5. Does the family welcome outsiders (Non-Raizal husbands, wives)?

17. Do you do these activities in the following languages?

	Creole	English	Spanish	Two or more
Reading (newspaper, magazine, textbooks)	3	1	1	1-2
Writing (shopping list, note for a friend or family)	3	1	1	1-2
Writing (school papers, official reports)	3	1	1	1-2
Chatting (texting, facebook, whatsup)	3	1	1	1-2
Listening to music, news, public events	3	1	1	1-2
Speaking informally in a private/intimate event	3	1	1	1-2
Speaking formally in a public event	3	1	1	1-2
Score	_____	_____	_____	_____

Possible follow-up questions

17.1. Is there any written material in Creole?

17.2. Does the Creole have a writing system?

17.3. Who designed the writing system for the Creole?

17.4. How is that system different from English?

17.5. How is that system different from Spanish?

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D. BELIEFS

18. Should children learn…?

2 1

Creole __3__ English __1__ Spanish __1__ All or some of the above ___1-2___

2

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

18.1. What can be Creole useful/helpful for?

18.2. What can be English useful/helpful for?

18.3. What can be Spanish useful/helpful for?

18.4. What can be any form of bilingualism useful/helpful for?

19. Should Raizal women marry…? (Anyone = 1)

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __2__ Colombian __1__ Foreigners __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

19.1. What are the potential benefits of marrying a _____?

19.2. What are the potential downsides of marrying a _____?

20. Should Raizal men marry…? (Anyone = 1)

Raizal __3__ Islander __3__ Caribbean __2__ Colombian __1__ Foreigners __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

20.1. What are the potential benefits of marrying a_____?

20.2. What are the potential downsides of marrying a _____?

21. Would you rather like to live in…? (No = 3 if living in traditional (T); 1 if living in Hispanic (H)

Yes = 3 if place is T but lives in H; 1 if place is H but lives in T; 3 if place is T and lives in T, ____, ____, ____,
(Neighborhood/place) (location/zone/region) (People living there)

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

21.1. Do you have any kind of network with this neighborhood/place/location?

21.2. How did you know about this place?

21.3. Would your partner also like to live there?

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E. RIGHTS, DISCRIMINATION, AND LANGUAGE/SPEAKERS WELFARE

22. Have you ever had a problem getting a job because you are Raizal/Islander?

Yes __1__ No __3__

What problem? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

22.1. What do you think is the reason that motivated such problem?

22.2. Has anyone experienced a similar problem?

22.3. Is this a general problem of the island, is it particular of that working field or was it an individual situation?

23. Have you ever had a problem buying a house or renting an apartment because you are Raizal/Islander?

Yes __1__ No __3__

What problem? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

23.1. Does everyone have the same rights over the lands of the island?

23.2. Has been this situation always the same?

24. Have you ever received any discriminatory treatment at school/work because you are Raizal/Islander?

Yes __1__ No __3__

What treatment? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

24.1. What do you think is the reason that motivated such treatment?

24.2. Has anyone experienced a similar problem?

24.3. Is this a general problem of the island, is it particular of that school/field or was it an individual situation?

25. Have you ever received any preferential treatment at school/work because you are Raizal/Islander?

Yes __3__ No __1__

What treatment? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

25.1. What do you think is the reason that motivated such treatment?

25.2. Has anyone experienced a similar treatment?

25.3. Is this a general trend of the island, is it particular of that school/field or was it an individual situation?

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26. Is there a lot of discrimination against Raizals/Islanders in the island?

Yes __1__ No __3__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

26.1. Who discriminates?

26.2. Does everyone who is Raizal experience the same situation?

26.3. Is this a general trend on the island?

27. Is there preferential treatment for Raizals in the island?

Yes __3__ No __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

27.1. Where is preferential treatment received?

27.2. Does everyone who is Raizal experience the same situation?

27.3. Is this a general trend of the island?

28. Is the Creole officially recognized in the island?

Yes __3__ No __1__

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

28.1. What is the situation of the Creole with respect to Spanish?

28.2. What is the situation of the Creole with respect to English?

28.3. Does Spanish threaten in some way the Creole?

28.4. Does English threaten in some way the Creole?

29. What languages are taught at school?

2 1

Creole __3___ English __1__ Spanish __1__

Why? 2 _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

29.1. Is there any Raizal teacher at the school?

29.2. Is there any material in Creole to teach this language?

29.3. What languages would you prefer to be taught at school?

29.4. Does Spanish threaten in some way the Creole?

29.5. Does English threaten in some way the Creole?

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30. In which language are classes usually taught?

2 1

Creole __3__ English __1__ Spanish __1__

Why? 2 _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

30.1. Has been this situation always the same?

30.2. Were you also taught on the same language?

30.3. Wish you like to have been taught on the same way?

31. What is your religion?

Baptist __3___ Catholic __1___ Other __1___

Why? _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

31.1. Has the distribution of religions had been the same in the island?

31.2. What language do you feel more comfortable with in your church or when praying?

32. In which language are ceremonies given in your church?

2 2

Creole __3__ English __2__ Spanish __1__

Why? 2 _____

Score: ____

Possible follow-up questions

32.1. What activities do you do at your church beyond ceremonies and rites?

32.2. What languages do you speak in such activities?

APPENDIX C

PRODUCTION TASK 1

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Production task 1 prompt

1. Look carefully at the following cartoon

2. Understand the situation represented in the cartoon

3. Identify clearly the moral (lesson) of the story

4. **Narrate in *Creole* the story represented in the cartoon using your own words.**

   When narrating the story, think on your narration as addressed to someone who will listen to you but will not see you. Talk about each vignette/scene in the cartoon. Emphasize clearly the moral (lesson) of the story.

APPENDIX D

PRODUCTION TASK 2

1. Do you know what is an 'Anansi story'?

   ✓ **Narrate in *Creole* any Anansi story you want to tell**

   ✓ At the end of your narration, emphasize clearly the moral (lesson) of the story.

2. Don't you remember a particular Anansi story?

   Here is a list of possible Anansi stories you may want to tell me:

   - How all the stories became Anansi stories?
   - Brother Anansi baby
   - Brother Tiger and brother Anansi gone hunting
   - Uncle Horse and brother Scorpion
   - Anansi, brother Tiger, and the white lime
   - Anansi and Monkey
   - Anansi, Tiger and Sea Dog
   - Anansi and Guinea Hen
   - Anansi and Tiger go fishing
   - Anansi and the Witch

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Production task 2 prompt

3. Don't you know or can't you remember any Anansi story?

   ✓ Watch carefully the following video *The strange creature*, which represents an Anansi story

   ✓ Understand the situation represented in the video

   ✓ Pay close attention to the moral (lesson) of the story

   ✓ **Narrate in *Creole* the story represented in the video**

   ✓ At the end of your narration, emphasize clearly the moral (lesson) of the story.

APPENDIX E

SPANISH SENTENCE TRANSLATION TASK

Read/listen to the following Spanish sentences and translate them into Creole, each at a time.
[English translations are provided here only for the reader. Participants were not be provided with translations]

1. Yo vivo en las islas
   [I live in the islands]

2. Ella está en Jamaica
   [She is in Jamaica]

3. El rondón es delicioso
   [Rondon is delicious]

4. La fruta de pan es un producto típico de las islas
   [Breadfruit is a typical product from the islands]

5. El conejo no come flores pero le gustan las zanahorías
   [The rabbit does not eat flowers but he likes carrots]

6. El tigre está cazando una serpiente
   [The tiger is hunting a snake]

7. Mi hermana estaba trabajando en un crucero en las islas Caimán
   [My sister was working in a cruise (ship) in the Cayman Islands]

8. El año pasado hicimos una fiesta por el cumpleaños de mi mamá, vino mucha gente, bailamos y comimos rondón
   [Last year we made a party for my mom's birthday. A lot of people came in, we danced and had/ate rondon]

9. Voy a estudiar en Bogotá pero no quiero vivir allá
   [I am going to study in Bogotá, but I don't want to live there]

10. El hermano tigre le prometió al hermano araña que todas las historias llevarían su nombre
    [Brother Tiger promised brother Anansi that all the stories would belong to him (to Anansi)]

APPENDIX F

PILOT STUDY MG QUESTIONNAIRE

Date: _____/_____/_____ Excerpt # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____
Name: _____ #_____

1) THE SPEAKER

The person who is speaking…	Disagree		Agree	
Sounds intelligent	1	2	3	4
Sounds friendly	1	2	3	4
Sounds confident	1	2	3	4
Sounds educated	1	2	3	4
Sounds shy	1	2	3	4
Sounds funny	1	2	3	4
Sounds outgoing	1	2	3	4
Sounds angry	1	2	3	4

2) THE SPEECH

The speech of the person speaking…	Disagree		Agree	
Is nice	1	2	3	4
Is accurate	1	2	3	4
Is weird	1	2	3	4
Is fast	1	2	3	4
Is annoying	1	2	3	4
Is inaccurate	1	2	3	4
Is slow	1	2	3	4
Is accented	1	2	3	4

3) Make your best estimate of this person's gender

Female _____ **Male** _____

4) Make your best estimate of this person's age:

Younger than 30 _____ **Older than 30** _____

5) Make your best estimate of this person's origin:

San Andrés _____

Providencia _____

Somewhere else in Colombia _____

Somewhere else in the world _____

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Questionnaire 2-MG

6) Make your best estimate of the language spoken in this excerpt:

Creole _____

English _____

Spanish _____

Something else _____

APPENDIX G

OPEN-ENDED PERCEPTION TASK - MAIN STUDY

Date: _____ / _____ / _____ Excerpt # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____

Name: _____ # _____

You will listen to a person telling a story. After you listen to the story, please answer these questions. Feel free to express openly your own opinions:

1) In your own words, how would you describe this person?

2) Is this person a male or a female?

3) How old is probably this person?

4) Where is he/she probably from? How did you know? Explain

5) What does this person probably do for a life?

6) How does this person probably look like (physically)?

7) How did you feel the mood of this person when narrating this story?

8) How would you describe his/her personality based on how he/she speaks?

9) In your own words, how would you describe the speech of this person?

10) What language is the person speaking in this narration? How did you know?

APPENDIX H

REFINED MG QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MAIN STUDY

Date: _____ / _____ / _____ Excerpt # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____
Name: _____ # _____

1] The person who is speaking is or has:

Mark only one point in each row

Black	○	○	○	○	○	○	White
Young	○	○	○	○	○	○	Old
Tall	○	○	○	○	○	○	Short
Thin	○	○	○	○	○	○	Hefty body
Kinky hair	○	○	○	○	○	○	Straight hair
Dark hair	○	○	○	○	○	○	Clear hair
Dark eyes	○	○	○	○	○	○	Clear eyes
Happy	○	○	○	○	○	○	Sad
Calm	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not calm
Kind	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not kind
Passive	○	○	○	○	○	○	Active
Good mood	○	○	○	○	○	○	Bad mood
Sure	○	○	○	○	○	○	Unsure
Loving	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not loving
Educated	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not educated
Serious	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not serious
Introverted	○	○	○	○	○	○	Extroverted
Modest	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not modest
Sociable	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not sociable
Analytic	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not analytic
Collaborative	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not collaborative
A lot of energy	○	○	○	○	○	○	Little energy
Fluent	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not fluent
Clear	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not clear
Rushing	○	○	○	○	○	○	Unhurried
Understandable	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not understandable
Expressive	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not expressive
Good vocabulary	○	○	○	○	○	○	Bad vocabulary
Standard	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not standard
Speaks well	○	○	○	○	○	○	Does not speak well

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Questionnaire 2-MG

2] The person who is speaking is or has:
[Choose all that apply]

- ☐ Islander accent
- ☐ Continental accent
- ☐ Foreign accent or influence
- ☐ Native or authentic speech
- ☐ Mixes some Creole words
- ☐ Deep or tick voice
- ☐ Islander Raizal
- ☐ Paña
- ☐ Foreigner
- ☐ Fisher
- ☐ Farmer
- ☐ Teacher
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Braid hairstyle
- ☐ Beard and/or mustache
- ☐ Gray-haired
- ☐ Bald

3] Where is the speaker probably from?
[Choose only option]

- ○ San Andrés
- ○ Providencia
- ○ Continental Colombia
- ○ Somewhere else in the world

4] What language is the speaker speaking in this recording?
[Choose only option]

- ○ Creole
- ○ Spanish
- ○ English

5] If you recognized the voice of the person speaking, who is that person?

_____

APPENDIX I

MODIFIED PERCEPTION TASK FOR CREOLE-SHIFTING PARTICIPANTS

Date: _____ / _____ / _____ Excerpt # _____ San Andrés _____ Providencia _____
Name: _____ # _____

LISTENING

1) Listen carefully to the following recording

2) Make your best to understand the content of the recording

SPEAKING

3) Explain to me what you understood from the recording

4) In your own words, how would you describe the person who is speaking?

5) Make your best estimate of this person's gender

Female ____ Male ____

6) Make your best estimate of this person's age:

Younger than 30 ____ Older than 30 ____

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Modified perception task for Creole-shifting participants

7) Make your best estimate of this person's origin:

San Andrés _____

Providencia _____

Somewhere else in Colombia _____

Somewhere else in the world _____

8) How would you describe the speech of this person in your own words?

9) Make your best estimate of the language spoken in this excerpt:

Creole _____

English _____

Spanish _____

Something else _____

10) If you recognized the voice of the person speaking, who is that person? And how did you know?

APPENDIX J

TARGET WORDS FOR PICTURE NAMING TASK

Target words for lexical access task

R#	C#	W#	Condition	Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns Creole Mitchell & Morren (2000) O'Flynn (1987) Dittman (1992) Washabaugh (1982) Parsons (1970)	Caribbean English Allsopp (1996)	Standard English	Spanish
	A		Training	Rabit	Rabbit	Rabbit/Bunnie	Conejo
	B		Training	Kuk	Cook	Cook	Cocinar
	C		Training	(Sad) fies	—	(Sad) face	(Cara) Triste
	D		Training	Muun	Moon	Moon	Luna
			Training	Liif(s)/Liif dem	Leaves	Leaves	Hojas
	E		Training	Branch	—	Branch	Rama
			Training	Tronk	—	Trunk	Tronco
			Training	Root(s)/Root dem	Root(s)	Root(s)	Raíz/raíces
1	9	23	Experimental	Haat	Ha(r)t	Heart	Corazón
2	24	38	Experimental	Riva/riba	River	River	Río
3	25	39	Experimental	Bord/bod	Bird	Bird	Pájaro
4	16	30	Filler	Dandan	Dandan	Baby dress	Ropa/vestido de bebé
5	18	32	Filler	Hows	House	House	Casa
6	3	11	Experimental	Ai waata	Eye water/Cry water	Tears	Lágrimas
7	35	49	Experimental	Bluo	Blow	Blow	Soplar
8	41	55	Experimental	Tiel	Tail	Tail	Cola/rabo
9	64	78	Filler	Chorch/templ	Church	Church/temple	Iglesia/templo
10	46	60	Filler	Shout	Shout	Shout/yell	Gritar
11	36	50	Experimental	Buon	Bone	Bone	Hueso
12	48	62	Experimental	Taiga	—	Tiger	Tigre
13	52	66	Filler	Kloud(s)/Kloud dem	—	Cloud(s)	Nube(s)

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Target words for lexical access task

14	20	34	Experimental	Bieby bokle	Baby bottle	Baby bottle	Tetero
15	21	35	Experimental	Buuru	Donkey	Donkey	Burro
16	32	46	Experimental	Kech (di/one baal)	Catch [ketch] (a ball)	Catch (a/the ball)	Atrapar/coger (la pel)
17	6	14	Experimental	Hier	Hair	Hair	Cabello/pelo
17	6	15	Filler	Ai	Eye	Eye	Ojo
17	6	16	Experimental	Iez	Ears [Erz/eez/e-z]	Ears	Orejas
17	6	17	Experimental	Nuoz	Nose-hole [noz(h)ol]	Nose	Nariz
17	6	18	Experimental	Tiit	Teth [tiit]	Teeth	Dientes
17	6	19	Filler	Tong	Tongue	Tongue	Lengua
17	6	20	Filler	Chin	—	Chin	Mentón
18	40	54	Filler	Smuok	Smoke	Smoke	Fumar/humo
19	23	37	Experimental	Vex/bex	—	Angry (face)	(Cara) bravo/a
20	61	75	Filler	Drom(s)/drom dem	—	Drum(s)	Tambor(es)
21	26	40	Filler	Nyam	Nyam	Eat	Comer
22	50	64	Filler	Han	Hand	Hand	Mano
23	2	10	Experimental	Uman	Woman	Woman	Mujer
24	5	13	Experimental	Codo	—	Elbow	Codo
25	47	61	Filler	Man	Man	Man	Hombre
26	31	45	Experimental	Heng (di kluoz)	Hang (the clothes)	Hang (the clothes)	Colgar (la ropa)
27	30	44	Experimental	Ker (one baks)	Carry (a box)	Carry (a box)	Cargar/llevar/traer (c)
28	28	42	Filler	Kluoz (di duo(r))	—	Close (the door)	Cerrar (la puerta)
29	8	22	Experimental	Tuo	—	Toe	Dedo (del pie)
30	58	72	Filler	Kow	Cow	Cow	Vaca/Res
31	7	21	Experimental	Finga	Finger	Finger	Dedo
32	54	68	Filler	Ron	Run	Run	Correr
33	43	57	Filler	Monky	Monkey	Monkey	Mono/mico
34	4	12	Experimental	Mout waata	Mouth water	Saliva	Saliva
35	65	79	Experimental	Ship/buot	—	Ship	Varco/buque
36	10	24	Experimental	(H)ama	—	Hammer	Martillo

37	66	80	Filler	Kamara	—	Camera	Cámara
38	33	47	Experimental	Baat	Bath [bat/bae]	Bath	Baño
39	53	67	Experimental	Ierplane	—	Airplane/Aircraft	Avión
40	13	27	Experimental	Wowla/sniek	Snake	Boa/Snake	Serpiente/culebra/boa
41	57	71	Experimental	Kaan	Corn	Corn	Maíz/mazorca
42	22	36	Experimental	Bwai	Boy	Boy	Chico
43	49	63	Filler	Laaf	Laugh	Laugh	Reír(se)
44	14	28	Experimental	Anansi	Anancy	Spider	Araña
45	38	52	Experimental	Flowaz	Flowers	Flowers	Flores
46	63	77	Filler	Kraab	Crab	Crab	Cangrejo
47	60	74	Experimental	Kiek	Cake	Cake	Pastel
48	44	58	Filler	Raid	Write	Write	Escribir
49	19	33	Experimental	Turkle	Turtle	Turtle	Tortuga
50	55	69	Experimental	Kyar	—	Car	Carro/coche
51	12	26	Experimental	Ishily	Black lizard	Black lizard	Iguana negra
52	42	56	Filler	Skrudrieva	—	Screwdriver	Des(a)tornillador
53	11	25	Experimental	Haas	Horse	Horse	Caballo
54	27	41	Experimental	Ayan	Iron	Iron	Planchar
55	15	29	Experimental	Dopy/bubu/babu	Duppy	Ghost	Espíritu/fantasma
56	34	48	Experimental	Daag	Dog	Dog	Perro
57	37	51	Experimental	Kluoz	Clothes	Clothes	Ropa
58	62	76	Filler	Longz	—	Lungs	Pulmones
59	29	43	Experimental	Mek di bed	—	Make the bed	Tender la cama
60	39	53	Experimental	Ruod	Road	Road	Carretera/calle
61	56	70	Experimental	Kat/kyat/pus	Cat	Cat	Gato
62	51	65	Filler	Fut	Foot	Foot	Pie
63	1	1	Experimental	Granmuma/nana	Grandmother	Grandmother	Abuela
63	1	2	Filler	granfaada/grampa	Grandfather	Grandfather	abuelo
63	1	3	Experimental	Muma	Mother	Mother/Mom	Madre

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Target words for lexical access task

63	1	4	Experimental	Pupa	Pupa/poopah	Father/dad	Padre
63	1	5	Experimental	Daata	Daata (+dif meaning)	Daughter	Hija
63	1	6	Filler	Son	—	son	hijo
63	1	7	Experimental	bieby/granson		baby / grandson	bebé / nieto
63	1	8	Experimental	Breda/sista	Brother(-man)	Brother	Hermano
63	1	9	Experimental	Sista/tita/breda	—	Sister	Hermana
64	59	73	Filler	Baik	—	Bike	Montar en bicicleta
65	17	31	Experimental	Ayl	Oil	Oil	Aceite
66	45	59	Filler	Klap	—	Clap	Aplaudir

APPENDIX K

CROSSTABS OF EXPERIMENTAL WORDS RETRIEVED

		Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole	p-value			Creole-shifting	Fluent Creole	p-value
DOG				K.O	CAKE				0.009
daag	N	12	48		kiek	N	7	38	
	%	75.00	100.00			%	43.75	79.17	
dog	N	4	0		other response	N	2	5	
	%	25.00	0			%	12.50	10.42	
					cake	N	4	4	
						%	25.00	8.33	
					no response	N	3	1	
						%	18.75	2.08	
OIL				K.O	BONE				0.002
ail	N	9	47		bound	N	5	36	
	%	56.25	97.92			%	31.25	75.00	
no response	N	4	1		bond	N	6	12	
	%	25.00	2.08			%	37.50	25.00	
oil	N	3	0		no response	N	5	0	
	%	18.75	0			%	31.25	0	
RIVER				K.O	DAUGHTER				0.024
riva	N	2	46		daata	N	7	36	
	%	12.50	95.83			%	43.75	75.00	
wata	N	3	1		daughter	N	4	8	
	%	18.75	2.08			%	25.00	16.67	
river	N	5	1		sista	N	3	3	
	%	31.25	2.08			%	18.75	6.25	
water	N	2	0		other response	N	2	1	
	%	12.50	0			%	12.50	2.08	
no response	N	4	0						
	%	25.00	0						
TAIL				K.O	FLOWERS				0.005
tiel	N	5	46		flowaz	N	5	34	
	%	31.25	95.83			%	31.25	70.83	
tail	N	4	1		flowarz	N	4	12	
	%	25.00	2.08			%	25.00	25.00	
no response	N	6	1		flowers	N	7	2	
	%	37.50	2.08			%	43.75	4.17	
back side	N	1	0						
	%	6.25	0						
HAMMER				K.O	BROTHER				0.042
hamma	N	9	46		breda	N	5	29	
	%	56.25	95.83			%	31.25	60.42	
hammer	N	1	2		Brother	N	6	7	
	%	6.25	4.17			%	37.50	14.58	
no response	N	6	0		Brotha	N	3	7	
	%	37.50	0			%	18.75	14.58	
					other response	N	2	5	
						%	12.50	10.42	
ROAD				0.001	ANGRY				0.039
roud	N	7	45		vex	N	4	26	
	%	43.75	93.75			%	25.00	54.17	
other response	N	1	2		angry	N	5	16	
	%	6.25	4.17			%	31.25	33.33	
road	N	3	1		kraas	N	0	6	
	%	18.75	2.08			%	0	12.50	
no response	N	5	0		no response	N	7	0	
	%	31.25	0			%	43.75	0	
CATCH				0.001	GHOST				0.003
ketch	N	6	44		guost	N	2	25	
	%	37.50	91.67			%	12.50	52.08	
other response	N	3	2		ghost	N	4	11	
	%	18.75	4.17			%	25.00	22.92	
catch	N	3	1		no response	N	6	4	
	%	18.75	2.08			%	37.50	8.33	
no response	N	4	1		duppy	N	1	4	
	%	25.00	2.08			%	6.25	8.33	
					fantasma	N	1	3	
						%	6.25	6.25	
					babu	N	2	1	
						%	12.50	2.08	
TOE				0.001	ELBOW				0.016
tuo	N	7	44		elbow	N	3	25	
	%	43.75	91.67			%	18.75	52.08	
toe	N	3	3		codo	N	0	15	
	%	18.75	6.25			%	0	31.25	
finga	N	3	1		no response	N	12	6	
	%	18.75	2.08			%	75.00	12.50	
no response	N	3	0		hand	N	1	2	
	%	18.75	0			%	6.25	4.17	
CAT				0.001	GRANDMOTHER				0.016
pus	N	8	44		granmada	N	3	25	
	%	50.00	91.67			%	18.75	52.08	
kyat	N	2	4		buela	N	3	11	
	%	12.50	8.33			%	18.75	22.92	
cat	N	6	0		granny	N	3	8	
	%	37.50	0			%	18.75	16.67	
					grandnather	N	3	4	
						%	18.75	8.33	
					grandnother	N	4	0	
						%	25.00	0	
HANG				0.001	DONKEY				0.011
heng	N	3	43		burru	N	2	22	
	%	18.75	89.58			%	12.50	45.83	
pin clothes	N	6	5		haas	N	3	12	
	%	37.50	10.42			%	18.75	25.00	
no response	N	7	0		jakaas	N	1	8	
	%	43.75	0			%	6.25	16.67	
					dankey	N	0	4	
						%	0	8.33	
					donkey	N	3	1	
						%	18.75	2.08	
					no response	N	7	1	
						%	43.75	2.08	
NOSE				0.001	FATHER				0.024
nuoz	N	4	43		pa	N	2	20	

	%	25.00	89.58		%	12.50	41.67	
nose	N	11	4	pupa	N	0	13	
	%	68.75	8.33		%	0	27.08	
unrelated responses	N	1	1	faada	N	1	10	
	%	6.25	2.08		%	6.25	20.83	
				father	N	11	3	
					%	68.75	6.25	
				other response	N	2	2	
					%	12.50	4.17	
MAKE THE BED			0.001	TEETH				0.101
spred bed	N	5	43	tiit	N	12	44	
	%	31.25	89.58		%	75.00	91.67	
other response	N	5	5	teeth	N	2	3	
	%	31.25	10.42		%	12.50	6.25	
no response	N	6	0	other response	N	1	1	
	%	37.50	0		%	6.25	2.08	
				no response	N	1	0	
					%	6.25	0	
AIRPLANE			0.001	HAIR				0.061
ierplien	N	7	43	heir	N	11	43	
	%	43.75	89.58		%	68.75	89.38	
airplane	N	7	5	hair	N	2	3	
	%	43.75	10.42		%	12.50	6.25	
no response	N	2	0	head	N	1	2	
	%	12.50	0		%	6.25	4.17	
				no response	N	2	0	
					%	12.50	0	
BOY			0.001	FINGER				0.06
bwai	N	7	42	finga	N	10	41	
	%	43.75	87.50		%	62.50	85.42	
boy	N	5	4	finger	N	4	6	
	%	31.25	8.33		%	25.00	12.50	
other response	N	4	2	no response	N	2	1	
	%	25.00	4.17		%	12.50	2.08	
SPIDER			0.001	CLOTHES				0.628
spaida	N	4	41	clotes	N	11	36	
	%	25.00	85.42		%	68.75	75.00	
spider	N	4	4	kluos	N	0	12	
	%	25.00	8.33		%	0	25.00	
other response	N	2	2	no response	N	5	0	
	%	12.50	4.17		%	31.25	0	
no response	N	6	1					
	%	37.50	2.08					
CORN			0.001	WOMAN				0.097
kaan	N	5	41	uman	N	8	35	
	%	31.25	85.42		%	50.00	72.92	
kam	N	0	7	woman	N	5	7	
	%	0	14.58		%	31.25	14.75	
corn	N	4	0	girl	N	3	6	

	%	25.00	0			%	18.75	12.50	
no response	N	7	0						
	%	43.75	0						
IRON				0.001	SISTER				0.097
ayan	N	5	40		sista	N	8	35	
	%	31.25	83.33			%	50.00	72.92	
ayarn	N	3	8		sister	N	6	5	
	%	18.75	16.67			%	37.50	10.42	
no response	N	8	0		other response	N	2	5	
	%	50.00	0			%	12.50	10.42	
					sistar	N	0	3	
						%	0	6.25	
EARS				0.001	BABY BOTTLE				0.144
iez	N	5	40		tetero	N	7	31	
	%	31.25	83.33			%	43.75	64.58	
ears	N	7	7		bieby	N	1	15	
	%	43.75	14.58			%	6.25	31.25	
no response	N	4	1		no response	N	8	2	
	%	25.00	2.08			%	50.00	4.17	
BLACK LIZARD				0.001	SALIVA				0.144
lizad	N	2	37		spit	N	7	31	
	%	12.50	77.08			%	43.75	64.58	
lizard	N	4	6		mout wata	N	1	10	
	%	25.00	12.50			%	6.25	20.83	
(i)guana	N	1	3		baba	N	0	5	
	%	6.25	6.25			%	0	10.42	
ishily	N	4	2		no response	N	8	2	
	%	25.00	4.17			%	50.00	4.17	
no response	N	5	0						
	%	31.25	0						
BLOW				0.001	SHIP				
bluo	N	3	35		bout	N	5	28	
	%	18.75	72.92			%	31.25	58.33	
blow	N	3	7		ship	N	0	15	
	%	18.75	14.58			%	0	31.25	
whistle	N	1	5		boat	N	6	4	
	%	6.25	10.42			%	37.50	8.33	
no response	N	7	1		other response	N	1	1	
	%	43.75	2.08			%	6.25	2.08	
other response	N	2	0		no response	N	4	0	
	%	12.50	0			%	25.00	0	
TEARS				K.O	SNAKE				
eye wata	N	0	34		snick	N	6	27	
	%	0	70.83			%	37.50	56.25	
tears	N	5	8		wowla	N	0	16	
	%	31.25	16.67			%	0	33.33	
other compounds	N	3	6		snake	N	5	5	
	%	18.75	12.50			%	31.25	10.42	
no response	N	8	0		no response	N	5	0	
	%	50.00	0			%	31.25	0	
BIRD				0.009	BABY				0.386

bord	N	10	44	bieby	N	7	27	
	%	62.50	91.67		%	43.75	56.25	
other response	N	2	3	baby	N	7	16	
	%	12.50	6.25		%	43.75	33.33	
bird	N	2	1	likle bredah	N	2	5	
	%	12.50	2.08		%	12.50	10.42	
no response	N	2	0					
	%	12.50	0					
HORSE			0.001	CARRY				0.664
haas	N	7	41	back	N	8	27	
	%	43.75	85.42		%	50.00	56.25	
hars	N	4	7	ker	N	1	7	
	%	25.00	14.58		%	6.25	14.58	
horse	N	3	0	lift	N	1	6	
	%	18.75	0		%	6.25	12.50	
no response	N	2	0	other response	N	0	4	
	%	12.50	0		%	0	8.33	
				carry	N	0	3	
					%	0	6.25	
				no response	N	6	1	
					%	37.50	2.08	
TIGER			0.005	TURTLE				0,772
taiga	N	7	39	turkle	N	9	25	
	%	43.75	81.25		%	56.25	52.08	
lian	N	1	8	hikity	N	2	18	
	%	6.25	16.67		%	12.50	37.50	
tiger	N	8	1	other response	N	1	5	
	%	50.00	2.08		%	6.25	10.42	
				turtle	N	4	0	
					%	25.00	0	
BATH			0.005	CAR				0.885
biet	N	7	39	car	N	9	26	
	%	43.75	81.25		%	56.25	54.17	
bath	N	3	8	kyar	N	7	22	
	%	18.75	16.67		%	43.75	45.31	
other response	N	3	1					
	%	18.75	0					
no response	N	3	0					
	%	18.75	0					
HEART			0.002	MOTHER				0.768
haat	N	6	38	mama	N	6	20	
	%	37.50	79.17		%	37.50	41.67	
heart	N	8	10	muma	N	0	12	
	%	50.00	20.83		%	0	25.00	
no response	N	2	0	mada	N	1	9	
	%	12.50	0		%	6.25	18.75	
	N			mother ma	N	9	4	
	%				%	56.25	8.33	
	N			wife	N	0	3	
	%				%	0	6.25	

APPENDIX L

CREOLE CORPUS SUMMARY

PEDAGOGICAL OR DIDACTIC MATERIALS

#	Material and brief description	Language edition	Creole extension in pages	Creole word count (approximately)
3	Ramírez-Dawkins, Juan and Mitchell Pomare, Dulph (eds.) (2001) Language Arts-Three big books-First grade-Islander Creole. Beginning reading for Islander Children. San Andrés Island: Christian University Corporation of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina.	Creole monolingual	108 (~36 each book)	4,320 (~1,440 each book)
	The three books are part of a series of booklets in big book format with extra large font size to teach children different subjects in elementary education: Language Arts (3 big books), Social Sciences (2 big books), and Natural Sciences (2 big books); these seven books are all Creole monolingual editions and each of them includes a brief English introduction to the teachers. Four big books to teach standard English are part of this collection but were not reported here. The three big books on language arts are a collection of fifteen stories (five in each big book) to teach reading to elementary school students. Each of these three big books also includes an English introduction that describes the teaching activities to be done with each story, the instructions for reading Islander English Sound Symbols, and the explanation of the hypotheses of the trilingual education project with a pedagogical model – scope and sequence in a chart.			
2	Metzger, Ronald and Mitchell Pomare, Dulph (eds.) (2002) Social Science-Two big books. First grade-Islander Creole. San Andrés Island: Christian University Corporation of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina.	Creole monolingual	48 (18 – first book 30 – second book)	1,920 (720 – first book 1,200 – second book)
	The two books are part of the big book series. The two books on social sciences are a collection of seven stories (three in the first book and four in the second book) to teach children basic social science concepts at elementary school. It also includes an introduction that describes the content of the book, the learning goals, activities, and materials for the grade.			
1	Metzger, Ronald and Mitchell Pomare, Dulph (eds.) (2002) Natural Science-Second of two big books. First grade-Islander Creole. San Andrés Island: Christian University Corporation of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina.	Creole monolingual	38	1,520
	The two books are part of the big book series. The first book is missing. The second book is a collection of stories to teach children basic natural science concepts at elementary school. Four stories are included in this book. It also includes an introduction that describes the content of the book, the learning goals, activities, and materials for the grade.			
1	Christian University Corporation of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina (2001) ABC Stuoriz CUC.	Creole monolingual	54	3,750
	This is a collection of twenty-three stories, one for each letter of the alphabet. The titles are alphabetically ordered with the purpose of teaching the alphabet to children. At the top of the page, the letter to be taught appears in large font size, along with a drawing whose name starts with that letter. On every other page, there are four or five drawings of things and their names starting with the letter to be taught. The introduction of the book describes the purpose and general instructions for reading Islander English sounds/symbols and there are two poems before running into the alphabet.			
1	Metzger, Ronald G. and Metzger, Lois J. (2001) Shaat Stuoriz. The Christian University Corporation of San Andres, Providence, and Kathleen, San Andres Island.	Creole monolingual	62	4,960
	This is a collection of twenty-two short stories of variable length. These are traditional stories about animals, ghosts, plants, among others, which are intended to teach kids reading. The stories come in large font size and are accompanied with one or several drawings. There are also a few parts in English, such as the editorial page (1 page), an introduction describing the purpose of the book (3 pages) and the translations of the stories (8 pages). These are supplementary materials in regular font-size not intended for kids, and therefore they were not counted here.			
1	Semillero de Investigación Infotep (n/d). *Children's Song book. Musical treasure of San Andres Island*. Infotep: San Andres. This is booklet to teach children songs and verbal games. There are different texts in each language and there is no translation from one into another language. Creole has the lowest proportion (6% - 5 pages – 150 words) and it appears only in part of the first of three chapters: five of eight songs (Lullabies) in chapter 1 are in Creole. English has the largest proportion (68% - 31 pages - 1,860 words) and it appears in every chapter, including the remaining three songs from chapter 1. Spanish is used in the chapter titles, instructions to coloring drawings on every other page (*usa color* 'use color'), and some short sections about musical instruments (2 pages) and animals (4 pages): 26% - 44 pages (most just with the instruction to draw *usa color* 'use color') - 690 words).	Creole, English, Spanish Trilingual	5 / 80	150 / 2,700
9	Total		315	16,620

RELIGIOUS MATERIALS

#	Material and brief description	Language edition	Creole extension in pages	Creole word count (approximately)
1	Wycliffe Bible Translators (2015). *Di Nyuu Testment iina San Andres Ailanda Kriol*. San Andrés: Wycliffe Bible Translators. [translated in cooperation with the Islander Creole English Bible Translation Committee]	Creole monolingual	653	261,200
	This is the whole New Testament. It includes the Gospel in all four versions, The Acts, all Pauline epistles, all Catholic epistles, and the Revelation (27 books in total). This compilation also includes some editorial information in English: guidelines on how to read the language (writing and spelling conventions), a foreword, and an introduction on the experience of translating the Bible into Creole. This is a very nice hard edition with all fine details: footnotes, verses, and full color illustrations and maps. It also includes a supplementary CD, which is a Creole audio-book copy of the hard book. The audio contains a native male voice reading the verses vividly and is accompanied with soft background music. The CD could be considered an entire material (audiobook) on its own. The document is available to purchase at local Baptist Churches or with Raizal leaders who distribute it.			
1	AMEN-SD Movement (ed.) (2009). *Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament*. San Andrés: Wycliffe Bible Translators.	Creole monolingual	343	138,915
	This is a translation of the New Testament from English into Creole. The document contains the first five books of the Bible and is available online: (http://www.divinerevelations.info/searchable_directory2/bible_language_resources/islander_creole_bible_new_testament.pdf)			
2	Wycliffe Bible Translators (2008). *Di Gud Nyuuz bout Jesus Christ weh Luke Rait & Di Work weh di Apasl dem Du*. San Andrés: The American Bible Society. [translated in cooperation with the Islander Creole English Bible Translation Committee]	Creole monolingual	171	69,768
	These are two books from the New Testament: the Luke's Gospel version and The Acts. This compilation includes a short introduction in Creole and another introduction in English (1 page for each language). The introductions in each language are not translations of each other.			
1	Archipielago Movement for Ethnic Native Self Determination (Amen_SD) (2002). *Di Gud Nyuuz bout Jesus Christ we Maak Rait*. San Andrés: The British & Foreign Bible Society. [translated by the Islander Creole English Bible Translation Committee] This is the Mark's Gospel version. It includes a short introduction in Creole with an English translation (1 page for each language).	Creole monolingual	79	19,750
5	Total		1,246	489,633

STORIES AND GENERAL READING MATERIALS

#	Material and brief description	Language edition	Creole extension in pages	Creole word count (approximately)
1	Bent-Eden, Hildreth, Eden-McLean, Delia, and Gómez Davis, Dionicia (ed.) (2016) *Historias de anansi de la Vieja Providencia tal como fueron contadas en Creole por las autoras*. Bogotá: Banco de la República. This is a collection of Anansi stories. The book contains five full color illustrated stories along with an introduction that includes a short biography of each author, the process of transcribing the texts, a discussion of the Creole continuum, and the use of oral traditions to teach English and Spanish. This is a completely paired trilingual edition, so each part of the book comes in the three languages, except for the editorial page and the table of contents, which come in Spanish.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	25/75	5,195 / 15,800
1	Bent-Eden, Hildreth, Eden-McLean, Delia, Gómez-Davis, Dionicia, Dittmann, Marcia L. (2016). *Algunas plantas medicinales tradicionales y sus usos populares en las islas de San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina*. Banco de la República, Bogotá.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	41/124	12,450 / 24,900
1	This is a herbarium of medicinal herbs constructed by wise elders who are knowledgeable of plants and their uses for medicinal ends. The list of plants is arranged according to their different applications. Each plant, scientific name, classification, and medicinal uses (treatment and dose) are described in detail. The document also includes a chapter of conversation style texts about the applications of medicinal plants. Christopher Livingston, Adel (2016). Dih Kriol man, *Cuadernos del Caribe, 21*(1), 80-81. This is a collection of five poems extracted from the author's book, *Dih Kriol Man*, and reproduced in the journal. The poems are about different aspects of the Raizal culture and identity, such as being Raizal and speaking the mother tongue.	Creole monolingual	2	462
1	Mitchell, Dulph (translator) (2016). Wat wih get outa Havana. Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la paz and Ministerio de Cultura, San Andres Island.	Creole monolingual	12	1,900 / 2,160
	This is a short pedagogical booklet about the Peace agreements between the Colombian Government and the Colombian Guerrilla FARC. The booklet contains brief descriptions or explanations about the parts of the agreement and the scope of each amendment. It also has a few parts in Spanish (0.7 %), such as the editorial and cover pages and some drawings picturing the content of the agreements.			
1	Christopher Livingston, Adel (translator) (2015). Dih Uoshan Pigs. Los cerdos oceánicos y otros relatos raizales (the ocean pigs and other raizal stories). Bogotá: Ministerio de Educación Nacional. This is a collection of three stories. The stories were told by native Raizal teachers and students as part of the project *Wih taak dih trii* "We talk the three (Creole, Spanish, English)" and with the	Creole-Spanish bilingual	16 / 42	1,239 / 3,637

	sponsorship of the national government. All the stories are fully color illustrated and are written in Creole and provided with Spanish translations. Other parts of the document were written only in Spanish, such as the presentation, the introduction, and a short section about the Raizal community.			
7	Flores Corpus, Sally (ed.) (2015) *Enai Magazine*.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	5/105	677/22,575
	This is a magazine that publicizes and promotes art expressions of Raizal artists. I found 7 numbers (approximately 15 pages each) in the first two years (September 2014 through December 2015). An editorial introduction and fourteen sections/articles usually come in each number: assorted reflections about arts, the description of a song or music group, a short song excerpt or the song itself, among others. Spanish is dominant (72%) in the core content, sometimes with short passages in English (25%). Creole is rarely used (3%), usually for article titles, which come with Spanish translations. Eventually a short text also appears in Creole, such as the story *Dih lang tong Uman* 'The woman with a long, long' in the first number.			
1	Christopher Livingston, Adel (2011). *Idiomas de mi tierra*. San Andrés: Publicidad Total.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	16 / 133	1,610 / 16,625
	This book is a collection of poems, mostly related to the Islander daily life, the memories from the past, and their complaints about the current social situation of the islands. There are different poems in the three languages. Spanish and English are dominant, while Creole was less frequently used (10%). Out of 100 poems, 15 were written in Creole. There are some short passages, such as the preface, that are both in Creole and in Spanish and there are some poems, such as *Idiomas de mi tierra* 'languages from my island', that have some code-switching instances.			
1	Ramírez-Dawkins, Juan (2011). *Naked skin. Piel desnuda*. Cali: Artes Gráficas Univalle.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	2 / 96	200 / 10,560
	This book is a collection of poems. The poems usually relate to the Islander daily life, the memories from the past (better amusing days), and their complaints about the social situation of the islands. Spanish and English are the dominant languages in the book and there is only one poem: *Crab Hole*, written both in Creole and in Spanish. The preface was also written in Creole and Spanish. Other short texts are also in Creole, for example the dedication.			
1	Archbold Núñez, Jairo (2011). "Dih Archipielago a Sient Andruu ahn Pravidens: between blaknis ahn dih kola dem." In Mitchell Pomare, Dulph (Ed. for the Creole texts). *Memorias palenqueras y raizales*. Secretaría Distrital de Cultura, Recreación y Deporte. Bogotá, COL., pp. 22-61. This material appears in a dual bilingual edition with texts in both Colombian Creoles: Islander Creole and Palenquero. In extension, Islander Creole (40%) is dominant over Palenquero (8.6%),	Spanish, Creole bilingual	20 / 40	9,100 / 18, 200
	while Spanish (51.4%) is used for editorial information and translations of both Creoles. Archbold's text is a sociohistorical essay about different topics of the islands, which concern both the past and the present of these islands.			
1	Robinson Abrahams, Hazel (2011). "Krismos wid tianty Fraydeh." In Mitchell Pomare, Dulph (Ed. for the Creole texts). *Memorias palenqueras y raizales*. Secretaría Distrital de Cultura, Recreación y Deporte. Bogotá, COL., pp. 62-77.	Spanish, Creole bilingual	8 / 16	3,640 / 7, 280
	Robinson's text is an autobiographical narrative about how people used to celebrate Christmas when he was a kid. The text is constructed as a travel to the past and has a nostalgic theme due to the resemblance of old times. The text has some references to historical key events and includes dialogues of the narrator as a kid and older people, who also resembled older times celebrating Christmas and other episodes of their past times. Overall, the text flows easily and appears as the first mastery piece of narrative I have read in Creole.			
1	Williams Jessie, Alciano (2011). *Dhe smilin wavs fa Sound Bay. The smiling waves from Sound Bay. Las olas sonrientes de Sound Bay*. Santa Marta: Oraloteca del Caribe.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	14 / 44	1,650 / 4,950
	This is a collection of eleven poems related to the sea, sand, nature, God, family, and childhood. The poems have a nostalgic theme that is easily communicated to the reader. All poems are written in the three languages.			
1	A short pamphlet about the Sixth Municipal Education Meeting in Providence and Saint Catalina [unpublished material].	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	1/4	250/750
	This is a pamphlet promoting a meeting of the Raizal community. It includes the description of goals, topics, justification, and participants.			
1	A short story of Yoletti written in 1999 [unpublished material]. This is a brief story about a character called Yoletti.	Spanish, English, Creole trilingual	1	90/270
19	Total		161	38,001

MATERIALS COLLECTED BY OTHER CREOLE RESEARCHERS AND AVAILABLE IN PUBLISHED PAPERS

#	Material and brief description	Language edition	Creole extension in pages	Creole word count (approximately)
1	O'Flynn de Chaves (transcriber) (1990). Anexo 1: Cuento con cantincla, Anexo 2: Un cuento del trickster Nansi. In O'Flynn de Chaves (1990). Tiempo, aspecto y modalidad en el criollo Sanandresano (pp. 183-195). Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes. The transcription is morpheme by morpheme annotated and it must be about 4 minutes of recording.	Creole transcription. Spanish and English translations.	2	522
	These are two short narrations collected and transcribed by the researcher. The two Creole stories are transcribed and included in a Creole grammar book. The transcription is morpheme by morpheme annotated and translations are provided both in Spanish and in English.			
1	Dittmann, Martia (transcriber) (2013). "Di two travla" [and]. "Di Gnos we kuda plie gitar". English in the Colombian Archipielago of San Andres. In: Hopkins, T. and Decker, K. (2013). World Englishes. Volume III: Central America (pp. 315-317). London: Bloomsbury Academic.	Creole transcription. English translation.	2	338
1	These are two short stories included in the author's article about the Islander Creole. The transcriptions are not annotated but translations are provided in English. Dittmann, Martia (transcriber) (1992). "Riddles" [and] "Sanandrean alphabet". In: Dittmann. (1992). *El criollo sanandresano: lengua y cultura* (pp. 120-123). Cali: Universidad del Valle.	Creole transcription. Spanish translation.	4	415
	The first text is a series of riddles. This text tends to be standardized toward standard English. The second text is a song used to teach and learn the alphabet. This text tends to a more conservative Creole style and is freer of the standardizing English forms used in the first text.			
1	Forbes, Marsha (2002). "Text 1" and "Text 2". In: Social, Ethnic and Linguistic Differentiation in Providence Island, Columbia: A Study of Two Preverbal Markers, Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL), 14th Biennial Conference: theory and application. University of West Indies at St. Augustine, Trinidad & Tobago.	Creole transcription. English translation.	2	191 / 382
	The two texts appear to be interview excerpts in which the interviewers talk about their identity. The texts are translated into English but not annotated.			
1	Friedemann, Nina (1965). Miss Nansi, Old Nansi y otras narraciones del folclor de las islas de San Andrés (Colombia), *Revista Colombiana de Folclor, 4*(9), 213-233.	Creole transcription. Spanish translation.	5 / 11	2,005
	This is a collection of four Anansi stories collected and transcribed by the author. The stories reproduced traditional Anansi stories and include traditional characters, such as bredah Taiga.			
1	Edwards, Jay, Rosberg, Michael, Pryme Hoy, Luis (1975). Conversation in a West Indian Taxi: an ethnolinguistic analysis, *Language in Society, 4*(3), 295-321.	Creole transcription with English translation	5	691
	In the article, the authors include the transcription of a spontaneous conversation of Edwards with two native islanders in a taxi in San Andrés. The conversation pictures a typical interaction between islanders in everyday Creole. The transcription is morpheme by morpheme annotated and it lasts about 3 minutes, 15 seconds.			
1	Halliwell (1863) "The weepen liady" cited by Edwards, Jay (1970). *Social linguistics on San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia* (pp. 340-341). [PhD dissertation] Tulane University.	Creole monolingual	2	298
	This is a small sample text (a poem) cited by Edwards in his dissertation. It shows close similarities between the Creole speech from the 19th century and that from the 20th century studied by Edwards.			
1	Washabaugh, W. (1982). The off-shore islands creoles: Providencia, San Andres, and the Caymans. In: Holm, J. (Ed.). *Central American English. Volume II: varieties of English around the world* (pp. 157-183). Julius Gross Verlag Heidelberg.	Creole transcription	8	3,285
	In this chapter, the author includes three Creole texts of different style: one story and two spontaneous conversations. The texts are transcribed and have annotations (translations, definitions and/or explanations) on some vocabulary.			
1	Pochet Rodríguez, Lina María (2008). *Las telas transgresoras de la araña Anancy en el Archipiélago de San Andrés, Vieja Providencia y Santa Catalina (Colombia) y en la provincia atlántica de Limón.* Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam: Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES).	Creole transcription	25	22,200
	This is a collection of Anancy stories collected by the author in the islands. Her transcription suggests variable degrees of standardization towards English in some of the transcriptions. Her corpus also included stories that were told in Spanish but these were not counted or taken into account here.			
9	Total		55	29,945

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS COLLECTED BY OTHER CREOLE RESEARCHERS (PRIVATE ARCHIVES).

Material and brief description*	Language	Creole extension or duration in pages or minutes	Creole word count (approximately)
Audio recordings collected by five different researchers at different times (1965–1968, 1970, 1972–1975, 1998, 2010, 2012–2013) both in San Andrés and in Providencia. The recording style vary from spontaneous conversations to narratives and interviews. Some but not all these recordings are transcribed or translated into another language. A few transcriptions are annotated.	Creole recordings	1,110–1,169 minutes	—
Video recordings collected by three different researchers at different times (1998, 2010, 2012–2013) both in San Andrés and in Providencia. These recordings are not transcribed, captioned or glossed and they are not translated into another language.	Creole recordings	150–194 minutes	—
Written texts collected by two different researchers at different times (2002–2003, 2013–2016) in San Andrés. Most of these texts are not glossed and they are not translated into another language.	Creole	—	< 4,000
Total (audio and video recordings)		1,260–1,363 minutes	—
Total (written texts)		—	< 4,000
The description of these materials is based on the responses of six researchers on the Islander Creole to an online survey. Nine researchers were invited to answer the survey but only six of them answered, so the numbers might be bigger if having the other researchers' responses. All numbers provided by the researchers are approximate estimations. It may be that part of the corpus reported here is also reported in published papers or dissertations by the authors who replied.			

DIGITALIZED ORAL CREOLE TEXTS (DOCUMENTARIES, MUSIC ALBUMS, DVDS, ONLINE MATERIALS, ETC.)

#	Material and brief description*	Language	Creole duration in minutes	Creole word count
25	Banco de la República de Colombia (ed.) (2015). *Centro de Memorias Orales (Oral memories collection)*. San Andrés: BRC.	Creole, Spanish	617 / 1,098	—
1	This is a collection of recordings about life stories, families, historic events, and stories about different places of the islands. The stories were recorded with the purpose of preserving and spreading the oral memories of the Raizal community. This is an ongoing project, so that anyone from the islands can still go, record, and edit his/her stories in a recording lab of the Library. With similar proportions, there are recordings both in Creole (56.2%) and in Spanish (43.8%). No captions and no transcriptions are provided. The current collection is available online (http://www.banrepcultural.org/memorias-orales) Bush, Joseph Dan and Argumedo, Katherine (2013). *Sounds of San Andrés Island*. Tambora Records, Poliedro and Inversiones Cromos.	Creole (music) Spanish (parts of the interviews)	19 (only music)	—
1	This is a DVD documentary about music in San Andres and Providencia. It talks about the different traditional groups from the islands (e.g. The Rebels, Cayo, Creole, The Magical Beat, Island Survival, Orange Hill, The Beast of the beast) and makes a trip through the history of music in the islands (from the avoidance of Spanish and Spanish genres at the beginning through singers singing in a platform and the modern genres such as reggaeton. The DVD also includes some songs with accompanying videos of different groups performing in Creole. No transcriptions or translations for these songs are provided. O'Neill, Luis and Hayes, Walt (producers) (2003). *Ben Green & Banana*. Red Rock Promotions, San Andres Island, COL.	Creole	57	—
1	This is a collection of traditional songs performed by the group *Banana*. The songs are about love, women, and history; most of them are Mento songs or belong to other traditional genres from the Caribbean. The album is completely in Creole. Francisco Lung (2002). *Jimmy Archbold – Freedom of thinking*. Natarajah Records, Bogotá, COL.	Creole, Spanish	20 / 32	—
1	This is a collection of a different sort of songs with apparently no common theme throughout. The music style appears to be modern with a lot of digital work throughout. God and religious topics are dominant as they appeared in different songs. Other topics are love, social protests for wars, bad government, and the hope for a better healthy planet for children. There are both Creole (63%) songs and Spanish (27%) and there are some instances of code-switching in one song (*Hallelujah*). Lopez, Fernando and Sánchez, Álvaro (producers) (2002). *The Rebels-Grandes hits*. Codiscos, Bogotá, COL.	Creole, English,	21 / 71	—

	This album, performed by the group *The Rebels*, is a compilation of different songs that were considered great hits and belonged to different genres (Reggae, Tropical, Pop). The topics are very sorted out: love, the island as a paradise or as place that has changed a lot, among others. Some standardized English appears to be dominant (40%), Creole (30%) and Spanish (30%) are also present. There is also some frequent code-switching between these languages, which makes hard to track the exact Creole duration (roughly about 30%). No transcriptions or translations are provided.	Spanish		
1	O´Neill, Luis and Hayes, Walt (producers) (2002). *Native Artists Collection, Vol. 2*. Red Rock Promotions, San Andres Island, COL.	Creole, Spanish, English	18 / 44	—
1	This is a collection of different Mento songs, as an authentic rhythm of the islands. Most of the songs relate to daily life of islander people: romantic relationships and neighboring problems, among others. Creole appears to be dominant (40%), there are also some standardized English (40%) and Spanish (20%). Spanish is also mixed on some Creole and English songs. No transcriptions or translations are provided. O´Neill, Luis and Hayes, Walt (producers) (2001). *Creole – Foss na' fighting*. Red Rock Promotions, San Andres Island, COL.	Creole, Spanish, English	33 / 47	—
	This album is performed by the local group Creole Pure Mento. The songs relate to social protest and are inspired in daily life experiences. Most of them belong to reggae and other popular genres in the Caribbean. Creole is the dominant language throughout and, out of ten clips, there are only two songs played in Spanish (*Rumba del mar* and *Night nurse*). There are some songs that appear to be more standardized toward English, such as *Baby, I love you*. No transcripts of the lirics or translations are provided. There is one clip of instrumental music (*Arizona*).			
1	O´Neill, Luis and Hayes, Walt (producers) (2000). *Life Savers San Andres Island*. Red Rock Promotions, San Andres Island, COL.	Creole, English, Spanish	39 / 44	—
1	This is a collection of different Mento songs about Islanders' daily life. Creole (70%) is dominant throughout. There is also some standardized English (20%), while Spanish (10%) only appears in one song. No transcriptions or translations are provided. O´Neill, Luis, Hayes, Walt, and Saas, Job (producers) (1998). *Job Saas – Roots and Culture*. Red Rock Promotions and Fondo Mixto para la Promoción de la Cultura, San Andres Island, COL.	Creole	41	—
1	This is a collection of different Reggae songs, which reflects the Rasta ideology and the culture of the Raizals from San Andrés and Providencia. The songs are about respect, equality, justice, love, peace, nature, woman, children, and love for Jesus. Creole is used throughout, even though some songs appear to be more standardized toward English than others. Instituto de Estudios Caribeños (producer) (1996). *Nobody business but my own*. Fundacion de Musica Colombia, Bogotá, COL.	Creole, English	52 / 63	1,850
	This album, performed by the *Coral group*, is a compilation of traditional songs from typical genres of the Caribbean (Calypso), along with some English influences (Polka) and some influx from			

	Protestan churches. The songs touch upon different topics of the islander daily life: love, marriage, work, money, animals. Creole is the dominant language throughout. There are some songs apparently more standardized towards English, such as *Old Providence*. Transcriptions of the lyrics are provided using conventions of the Jamaican and Belizian Creoles. Spanish translation of the lyrics is provided.			
200	Corpus, Fidel. *Archivo Fidel Corpus*. (1996-2011). *The raizal people and culture*. San Andrés: Boss Man Production.	Creole, Spanish, English	4,560 / 45,600	—
1	This is a collection of 200 DVDs, which compile all episodes of the TV show "The Raizal People & Culture". The program was transmitted during 15 consecutive years, from 1996 through 2011 by a local channel called *Televisión comunitaria de la isla* (cable), and *Televisión Simón Bolívar* (TV channel). The collection includes interviews and cultural activities from the islands, such as parties, baptisms, weddings, concerts, horse and sailing boat races, traditional dances, boat building, games, funerals, carnivals, among others. The greatest part of the collection comes in Spanish and English; a small portion appears in Islander Creole, probably no more than 10% of the total duration, even though people frequently shift back and forward from Spanish to English and Creole, which makes hard to parse languages apart. Pastor, Toni and Estrada, Pep (n.d.). *Clasford and the Providence*. Toni Reines Studios, Belgium.	English, Creole	2 / 52	—
	This is a collection of modern songs (pop most commonly) about different matters of the modern world: destruction, lack of conscious and commitment, segregation and the seek of commitment and emancipation. There is a song about San Andrés, Providencia, and the Caribbean as a whole: *Rock it out and rock it in*. English is the dominant language throughout (97%) and there is only one song with some short code-switching passages into a Creolized English (3%). No transcription or translations are provided.			
1	Peláez, Maria Mercedez and Franco, Jorge (n.d.). *Providence – Jahmin Jam*. Fondo Mixto para la Promoción de la cultura y las artes del Departamento Archipiélago de San Andrés, Providencia, y Santa Catalina. Medellin, COL.	Creole, Spanish	35 / 42	2,006 / 2,332
1	This album is a compilation of traditional songs from typical genres of the Caribbean, which are played in a modern style combined with Rock and Pop. The songs are about daily life, island traditions, social problems and social protests, nature, and animals. Creole (83%) is the dominant language throughout. There is one song in Spanish (*Mamá cangrejo* 'Crab mom') and there are a couple of songs with some code-switching. Transcription of the Creole songs is provided using English. The Spanish song is transcribed in Spanish Archbold, Wilberson Fernando (n.d.). *Coral Group – My brother Tommy*. Fondo Mixto para la promoción de la cultura y las artes del Deartamento Archipielago de San Andres, Providencia y Santa Catalina.	Creole, Spanish	36 / 44	—
	This is a compilation of traditional music from Providencia (Calypso, Waltz, Fox trot) and a modernized song that adapts *Salsa*, a Latin American genre, and its lyrics to the context of			

	Providencia. The songs are about women, loneness, resemblances of old times, anecdotes about a thief, a road, and what people used to do in that road. Creole (82%) is dominant throughout and there is only one song in Spanish (9%): *Providence Island* (this is the salsa song). There is also an instrumental music clip (9%).			
1	Fondo Mixto para la promoción de la cultura y las artes del Deartamento Archipielago de San Andres, Providencia y Santa Catalina (n.d.). *Motu propio. Impresiones, n.p.*	Creole, Spanish	17 / 73	—
	This is a mixture of genres and musical styles. Most of them are popular Latin American music or from the Hispanic Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico). Spanish is the dominant language (76%) and there are only two songs in Creole (24%), which are labeled *mosaicos* 'mosaics' as they compile small pieces of music. The two Creole mosaicos are about daily life in the islands: party, cocomt, things made with coconut, having to leave the island due to work duties. No transcriptions or translations are provided.			
1	Bowie, Katie (Comp) (n/d). *Sweet songs fi Pikniní.* Ministerio de Cultura, Providencia Island, COL.	Creole	18	—
	This CD album is a collection of ten lullabies, resulting from the project *Back to revival* led by Katie Bowie. It involves the participation of old people who know, sing, and teach the songs, and children who perform on some of the songs. Creole is used throughout, even though there are some songs that appeared to be more standardized toward English than others.			
1	Martínez Caicedo, Santiago (Director) (n/d). *A sound of seven colors. Music and dance from Providence and Santa Catalina Island.* Ministerio de Cultura, San Andrés	Creole and Spanish	25	—
	This is a documentary about music and dance in Providencia and Santa Catalina. It is mostly focused on how people used to dance and play music in the old times: singing in the church, dancing in traditional festivals, playing instruments. It also discusses teaching music and the musical traditions and other aspects of the culture. The DVD is mostly in Creole (95%) and there are few parts in Spanish (5%): Our father pray, and part of a song. The Creole speech is more or less standardized toward English depending on the speaker but it broadly represents the speech from Providencia.			
15	*Audio collection* (n.d). San Andrés: Banco de la República.	Creole	450	—
	This is a collection of 15 cassettes in which islanders tell stories. No transcriptions or translations are provided.			
255	Total (minutes)		6,060 / 47,820	—
255	Total (number of words only for cases in which transcriptions were available)		—	3,856 / 4,180

APPENDIX M

SURVEY FOR RESEARCHERS OF CREOLE

Dear sir or madam,

Welcome to the survey on the corpus of the Islander Creoles from San Andrés and Providencia!

We are investigating the existing documentation of the Creoles from San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia. Besides the documentation available in local archives, we would also want to inquire the existence and availability of any other corpora of these Creoles. Specifically, we would want to survey any existent audio recordings, video recordings, and written texts without a corresponding recording.

We are aware of your expertise and research trajectory on these Creoles. Therefore, we would want to invite you to answer to this survey using the information of any Creole corpus that you may have collected in the islands or somewhere else. Answering to this survey will not take more than 15 minutes and we will gladly appreciate all your help.

For keeping our records appropriately, please provide us with your contact information:

Name: _____

Email address: _____

University of Pittsburgh
Islander Creole Researchers – survey form about existing corpus of Creole

Do you have available any of the following forms of language corpus of the Islander Creole?

1) Audio Recordings: ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

If yes, please fill the following information regarding your material

A) Site(s) of recordings:
- ☐ San Andrés Island
- ☐ Providencia Island
- ☐ Somewhere else:

_____

B) Approximate dates of recording (in year(s)):

_____

C) Approximate length of all recordings:
- ☐ < 15 min
- ☐ 15-59 min
- ☐ 60-119 min
- ☐ ≥ 120 min

D) Are your recordings transcribed?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

E) Percentage of recordings transcribed
- ☐ < 25%
- ☐ 25-50%
- ☐ 51-75%
- ☐ 76-90%
- ☐ > 90%

F) Are your recordings translated?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

G) Language of translation:
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Other language(s):

_____

H) Are they word-by-word glossed?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

I) Morpheme-by-morpheme glossing:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

J) Availability:
- ☐ Private/personal files
- ☐ Institutional repository (e.g. University, Library, Lab), specify:

_____

- ☐ Online website:

_____

_____

University of Pittsburgh

Islander Creole Researchers – survey form about existing corpus of Creole

2) Video Recordings: ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

If yes, please fill the following information regarding your material

A) Site(s) of recordings:
- ☐ San Andrés Island
- ☐ Providencia Island
- ☐ Somewhere else:

_____

B) Approximate dates of recording (in year(s)):

_____

C) Approximate length of all recordings:
- ☐ < 15 min
- ☐ 15-59 min
- ☐ 60-119 min
- ☐ ≥ 120 min

D) Are your videos captioned or transcribed?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

E) Percentage captioned/transcribed:
- ☐ < 25%
- ☐ 25-50%
- ☐ 51-75%
- ☐ 76-90%
- ☐ > 90%

F) Are your videos translated?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

G) Language of translation:
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Other language(s):

_____

H) Are they word-by-word glossed?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

I) Morpheme-by-morpheme glossing:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

J) Availability:
- ☐ Private/personal files
- ☐ Institutional repository (e.g. University, Library, Lab), specify:

_____
- ☐ Online website:

_____

_____

University of Pittsburgh

Islander Creole Researchers – survey form about existing corpus of Creole

3) Written texts with no corresponding recordings: ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

If yes, please fill the following information regarding your material

A) Site(s) of collection:
- ☐ San Andrés Island
- ☐ Providencia Island
- ☐ Somewhere else:

_____

B) Approximate dates of collection (in year(s)):

_____

C) Approximate number of words:
- ☐ < 2,000
- ☐ 2,000-4,999
- ☐ 5,000-9,999
- ☐ 10,000-19,999
- ☐ ≥ 20,000

D) Are your texts translated?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

E) Language of translation:
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Other language(s):

_____

F) Are they word-by-word glossed?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

G) Morpheme-by-morpheme glossing:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

H) Availability:
- ☐ Private/personal files
- ☐ Institutional repository (e.g. University, Library, Lab)

Specify: _____
- ☐ Online website:

_____

_____

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